WOMEN AND HOMELESSNESS: THE RELEVANCE OF EUROPEAN WELFARE REGIMES

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ABSTRACT

To date, no published research has focused on women's homelessness within the comparative housing context. This thesis bridges that gap. In doing so, the thesis fuses the three theoretical frameworks of welfare theory, comparative analysis and feminism and social policy to reveal the similarities and differences between the "homelessness systems" of England, Ireland and France and how these systems respond to homeless women. The thesis demonstrates the value of using welfare typologies to ground comparative research but also shows how dominant welfare theory is inherently gender blind by its over reliance on the dichotomies of the state and the market. The thesis shows how welfare regime theory places an undue emphasis on paid employment to the detriment of women's unpaid labour as carers of children thereby reinforcing the gender stereotypes on which welfare typologies depend. By using Leeds, Cork and Lyon as instrumental case study cities, the thesis reviews the nature of each country's distinct welfare approach within a feminist review of welfare theory in England, Ireland and France. The institutional risk to homelessness for women in each case study country is assessed by focusing on four interrelated variables which have consistently been identified as causing and perpetuating homelessness amongst women. In assessing the institutional risk, reference is made to notions of modern risk society. The four variables selected for the analysis were: domestic violence; relationship breakdown; poverty and being a household type of a single parent family. Analysis of primary data from homelessness professionals in each case study city revealed that whilst being a single parent family was most frequently identified by respondents as a primary trigger to homelessness in women in the three case study cities, this institutional risk was substantially reduced in Lyon. The research has also shown significant variations between countries in respect of the relative risk posed by poverty, domestic violence and relationship breakdown and the thesis relates these differences to key debates surrounding welfare regime theory and feminism. The thesis highlights women's over reliance on state sponsored solutions to homelessness both at the point of housing crisis and in the longer term, despite the variation in homelessness systems, the nature and level of

"social" housing stock and the relative ideological commitment towards homeownership in each country.

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me at different stages in the last three years. I must also sincerely thank all the homelessness professionals in Leeds, Cork and Lyon for giving up their valuable time to be interviewed as part of the study.

The research material has always proved a source of fascination to me. But despite the enduring appeal of the subject matter, there were occasions when the light at the end of the tunnel seemed barely visible. It was at times such as those that the unshakeable support of my husband Stuart and son Thomas came into its own. My greatest thanks go to you both.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This thesis presents a feminist analysis of women's homelessness in the three Western European countries of England, Ireland and France. In doing so, the thesis recognises the role of *welfare regime theory* in critically reviewing women's homelessness within the comparative context. But the thesis also demonstrates the inadequacies of dominant welfare theory in this respect. In addition to welfare theory, the thesis draws on two further theoretical strands: *comparative analysis* and *feminism and social policy*. The thesis shows how fusion of these three key theoretical strands is integral to an analysis of women's homelessness in the three countries.

The thesis deploys the notion of "homelessness systems" in assessing the institutional risk posed by four key interrelated pathways to homelessness amongst women at the national state level. These pathways are:

- Domestic violence where the perpetrator of the violence is male.
- Relationship breakdown.
- Poverty linked to dependency on state benefits; unpaid employment (namely childcare), part-time and low paid employment and;
- Being a household type of lone parent where there is a female head of household.

By using the instrumental case study cities of Leeds (England), Cork (Ireland) and Lyon (France), the research demonstrates the way in which dominant welfare regimes may be deployed in academic research on gender and homelessness and the extent to which these regimes are inherently gender blind within the context of each country but to different degrees and manifested in different ways. In the study, the term "single women" is understood as those women who are not in a relationship with a partner, do not have dependent children, are not pregnant and are seeking accommodation as a single person

household. "Lone parents" refers to those women with dependent children, who have no partners and who wish to be rehoused as a separate family unit.

To date, no published research exists which focuses on feminist reviews of women's pathways to homelessness and the relevance of dominant welfare regimes in different countries. Yet housing inequalities are fundamentally shaped by national and increasingly international prevailing welfare regime typologies. Housing choices may increasingly driven by global socioeconomic factors but overall housing approaches deployed at the nation state level remain highly influential in determining the specific housing welfare systems which act as a safety net for groups vulnerable to homelessness. Given the overall dominance of market based housing solutions in England, Ireland and France (albeit to differing degrees) and women's weaker socio-economic position relative to that of men's, women are disproportionately reliant on housing welfare systems and therefore one of the groups most vulnerable to homelessness. Welfare regimes which generate high levels of unemployment and poverty are most likely to result in increased levels of homelessness (Fitzpatrick, 2005). Moreover, the need to rely on welfare systems (statutory and voluntary/non-government organisations) is greater in countries where there is more social dislocation and where supportive institutions such as the family and other networks have diminished such as in England (Fitzpatrick, ibid). How do welfare regimes in England, Ireland and France mitigate the risk of homelessness in women in the event of domestic violence, relationship being in poverty and/or dependent on welfare benefits or being a household type of lone parent? What is the variation of institutional risk between countries? In characterising risk, the thesis makes use of the reflections of Foucault (1977), Beck (1999) and Jobert (1993) in capturing the extent to which globalisation and reconfigured welfare provision impacts on disadvantaged groups then relates these reflections to homeless women. This thesis therefore makes an original contribution to knowledge by presenting data from the three case study cities of Leeds, Cork and Lyon on these issues. In doing so, the work adds to the existing body of knowledge on comparative housing by presenting and

challenging existing welfare paradigms within comparative housing research which traditionally have awarded a secondary position to gender.

This thesis demonstrates how the fusion between welfare theory, comparative studies and feminism and social policy is integral to comparative evaluations of women's homelessness. The work initially began as a critical review of key triggers to homelessness for women in England but the preliminary literature review revealed some evidence, albeit limited, to suggest that these triggers may apply in other countries. At the same time, the contribution of welfare regime theory as a typology is increasingly being recognised as a framework for comparative analysis. Yet despite meticulous research, notions of equality, patriarchy and gender absent and their relevance to homelessness were largely absent within welfare regime discourse (the writing of Kemeny (1995) is one notable exception in this regard and this is considered in section 3.2 of the thesis).

A decision was taken was taken from the beginning of the study to focus on three welfare regimes, two of which would have a *shared* welfare identity. By choosing two countries which have been assigned the same welfare typology of conservative corporatism, the research clearly demonstrates the superficiality of welfare regime theory as well as allowing for a comparison between countries. France and Ireland, both classified by the influential welfare theorist Gøsta Esping - Anderson as having conservative corporatist identities, were selected for the analysis. England was selected as the liberalist model with which the other two countries could be compared. The thesis also demonstrates the value of using the instrumental case study approach at city level, a research technique which remains substantially under deployed in comparative studies despite endorsements of its legitimacy by Doling (1997) and Kemeny and Lowe (1998).

The success of the study depended on the co-operation of homelessness professionals in the three case study countries. With this in mind, considerable

time was spent at the beginning of the work in developing these homelessness contacts in each country (see section 2.11). The author of the thesis speaks French but given that a substantial amount of primary data in French was used, expert help was sought from native French speakers to support the study by translating the English questionnaire into French for the Lyon respondents and by explaining key terms of reference. As the study progressed, epistemological differences between the case studies emerged, specifically the Lyon case study (see section 2.6). At times, the research process seemed to move very slowly whilst, for example, respondents delayed in returning questionnaires. Key terms of reference such as "homelessness"; "domestic violence" and "relationship breakdown" in the three case study countries needed to be carefully defined and painstakingly verified to ensure the robustness and rigor of the analysis. Travelling to different homelessness projects in Lyon and Cork was also time consuming but extremely worthwhile given the quality of the data which was collated. The last set of French quantitative questionnaires took some two months to be returned. But the unique findings generated by this study more than amply compensated for any inconvenience caused by the delay in returning the questionnaires or the practicalities involved in conducting the semi-structured interviews in the three case study cities.

The study focused primarily on the extent to which the four individual triggers in their own right prompted women's homelessness in England, Ireland and France and the degree of institutional risk posed by each trigger in the three case study countries. But the research also looked to capture the complexity and diversity of women's experiences by demonstrating the way in which these primary triggers were interconnected. Domestic violence and relationship breakdown prompt the formation of single parent families. Lone parents as a social group are disproportionately more vulnerable to poverty than two parent households given that single parent mothers frequently need to prioritise unpaid childcare over paid employment. In the absence of private financial resources, lone parents as a family unit are frequently over represented amongst groups in England defined as living in poverty. In this respect, the thesis has

demonstrated the pervasive nature of patriarchy within homelessness systems at the nation state level and identifies specific institutional factors which sustain the patriarchal structures which negatively impact on women's housing choices, particularly at the point of housing crisis.

The thesis is by no means an endorsement of the deterministic view that women are passive in making housing choices at the point of housing crisis. The thesis makes the assumption that women initiate change and are therefore *agents.* Nor does the work suggest that women are a homogenous group. Factors such as economic and social status, culture, "race", sexuality and disability all contribute to the diversity of women. But the thesis clearly demonstrates how some broader societal institutions negatively impact women's housing opportunities, particularly when faced with housing exclusion. Therefore *structures* play a key role in shaping decisions made to mitigate the threat of homelessness. The thesis demonstrates the complexity of these relationships within the context of women's homelessness in England, Ireland and France and shows how an emphasis on the dichotomous nature of structure and agency debates are fundamentally misguided.

The research undertaken for the thesis has also revealed how women's individual discretion in respect of housing choices may be fettered by institutional forces in all three case study cities. Evidence from homelessness professionals in Leeds case study shows the limitations of the liberalist housing rights system. The research findings from Leeds show how the implementation of homelessness legislation has in effect, resulted in a common perception amongst homelessness professionals of the statutory "homeless route" as being the **only** route to social housing for single women in "priority need" under the terms of the homelessness legislation and has therefore, in the views of respondents, become too prescriptive. In Cork, the research has shown that women may make the individual decision to leave violent partners to take up occupation in a refuge or other hostels but that the role of the Catholic Church and health authorities in the provision of homelessness services fundamentally

shape the nature of these services and therefore women's experiences as users of these services. Homelessness professionals in Lyon were least likely to suggest that being a lone parent increased the risk to housing exclusion. Therefore, whilst individual women with children made choices to leave a relationship in Lyon, other institutional factors appeared to be at work which mitigated housing exclusion. In this sense, Giddens' advancement of structuration theory provides a lens through which the circular nature of these relationships may be more satisfactorily viewed. In particular, Giddens' notion of duality of structure is relevant here whereby individual agency may remain a reality and driver of change but institutional structures make this agency possible in the first instance (Giddens, 1984). The relevance of structure and agency is more comprehensively and critically reviewed in later stages of the thesis (section 3.5) but it was vital that its relevance is raised from the outset to demonstrate that these inextricable relationships between individual agency and institutional frameworks had been adequately considered as a guiding principle in the research undertaken for this thesis.

In completing this comparative analysis of women's homelessness, the study has broken new ground by fusing three key theoretical strands of *welfare regime theory*; *comparative analysis* and *feminism and social policy*. The thesis does not contend that this fusion has resulted in a new theory. Such as proclamation would do a gross disservice to the substantial contribution of the three theoretical strands identified above. But the thesis bridges a gap in existing literature by highlighting the way in which the fusion of these three theoretical strands allows for a more detailed, robust review of why women become homeless in different countries.

Firstly, the thesis refers principally to *welfare regime theory* in capturing the prevailing welfare typologies in each case study country then constructs a feminist review of these prevailing regimes. Here, the work of Danish welfare regime theorist Gøsta Esping-Anderson is integral to the work. Esping-Andersen's seminal text "*The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*" continues to

be widely cited by academics who have an interest in issues related to international and comparative welfare typologies. Since its publication in 1990, this text has remained highly influential and has been cited no fewer than 10,316 times in peer reviewed journals by 5,331 different authors. This is more than seven times as many citations as Mary Wollstonecraft's ground breaking text *"A Vindication of the Rights of Women"* published in 1792 (author impact analysis taken using the academic citations analysis software programme *"Publish or Perish"* on 6th September 2009). It would therefore be naïve to dismiss Esping-Andersen's influence on contemporary academic welfare discourse. As the study moved from the specific (variations in pathways to homelessness in women in the three countries) to the institutional (a critique of welfare regimes from an overt feminist perspective using the instrumental case study approach), the thesis looked to grounded theory to both inform and legitimise the research approach, research methods and the research techniques. Data collection and analysis were therefore undertaken within the theoretical constructs of welfare regimes typologies, the nature of the interrelationships between the four primary triggers to homelessness and the overall implications for the gendering of European welfare regimes. As previously stated, the work of Danish sociologist Gøsta Esping **-** Andersen (1990; 1993; 1999 and 2006) was fundamental in providing the theoretical catalyst on which this study's alternative feminist approach is based. This thesis deconstructed Esping - Andersen's popular accounts of welfare regimes by demonstrating the fundamental weaknesses in this typology from a feminist perspective. Using empirical reference points in the form of welfare indicators such as poverty and unemployment levels, Esping-Andersen's work sought to demonstrate that welfare state stratifications "cluster" to form three discernible regimes: the liberal welfare state model based on free market principles (examples here include England and the USA), the conservative-corporatist model (Ireland and France fall into this typology) and the socio-democratic regime (the Scandanavian countries). Using the case of women's homelessness, the thesis presents a feminist reconstruction of Esping Andersen's welfare typologies by reviewing key characteristics of the dominant

welfare regime in each case study country. The use of welfare regime theory helped to further consolidate the comparative framework but importantly, allowed for a feminist review of the relative emphasis of the male breadwinner model which reinforces the notion of the "family". This in turn allowed for a consideration of the extent to which prevailing regimes either promoted or inhibited labour market engagement for women which in turn may impact on housing choices, particularly in countries such as England which favour a market based approach to housing provision.

By flexing Esping-Andersen's welfare regime classification in this way, the thesis has systematically and comprehensively deconstructed his typology by pointing to fundamental omissions which relate directly to women's homelessness. Most importantly, definitions of work according to Esping-Andersen only include only ***paid*** employment (the conventional notion of labour market engagement is therefore important here) to the detriment of unpaid labour such as childcare, an omission which holds further poignancy in the case of single parent families. Based on this single oversight alone, it would be legitimate to instantly dismiss Esping-Andersen as being gender blind and therefore of no relevance to a comparative study of women's homelessness. But an abrupt dismissal of welfare regime theory would be both misguided and naïve giving the enduring influence of Esping - Andersen's welfare typology. A more satisfying and progressive approach is contained in this thesis - the proposition that the time has come to reform thinking. The comparative analysis of women's homelessness in the three countries contained in this thesis provides ample evidence of substantial deficiencies in Esping-Andersen's broad typology of welfare regimes. Ireland and France may share the same welfare identity of conservative corporatism and there are some shared characteristics in respect of homeless women, such as an enhanced role for the voluntary sector in the provision of temporary accommodation. But there are also fundamental differences between the two countries as the thesis will show. A further criticism of Esping-Andersen work is his over reliance on the dichotomy between the "state" and the "market" which overlook the role of the voluntary

sector in providing emergency accommodation for groups, namely single women and single parent families. These groups are disproportionately reliant on this form of accommodation in England, Ireland and France albeit to different degrees. Whilst in Ireland, health boards lead in providing homelessness service, the voluntary sector is the main provider of emergency accommodation for homeless groups. In France, homelessness services more closely aligned with England's social work model but here again, the voluntary sector plays a critical role in providing emergency accommodation. The feminist analysis of welfare regime theory in the thesis has also highlighted the extent to which welfare benefits such as lone parent allowance, child benefit, childcare allowances or tax credits mitigate housing exclusion for lone parents and single women may also be regarded as "income". The study also demonstrated the way in which welfare regime theory fails to adequately recognise the role of institutions other than the family in moderating homelessness amongst women. The Catholic Church, notably in Ireland and France, is one such institution given its central role in the provision of women's voluntary sector homelessness provision.

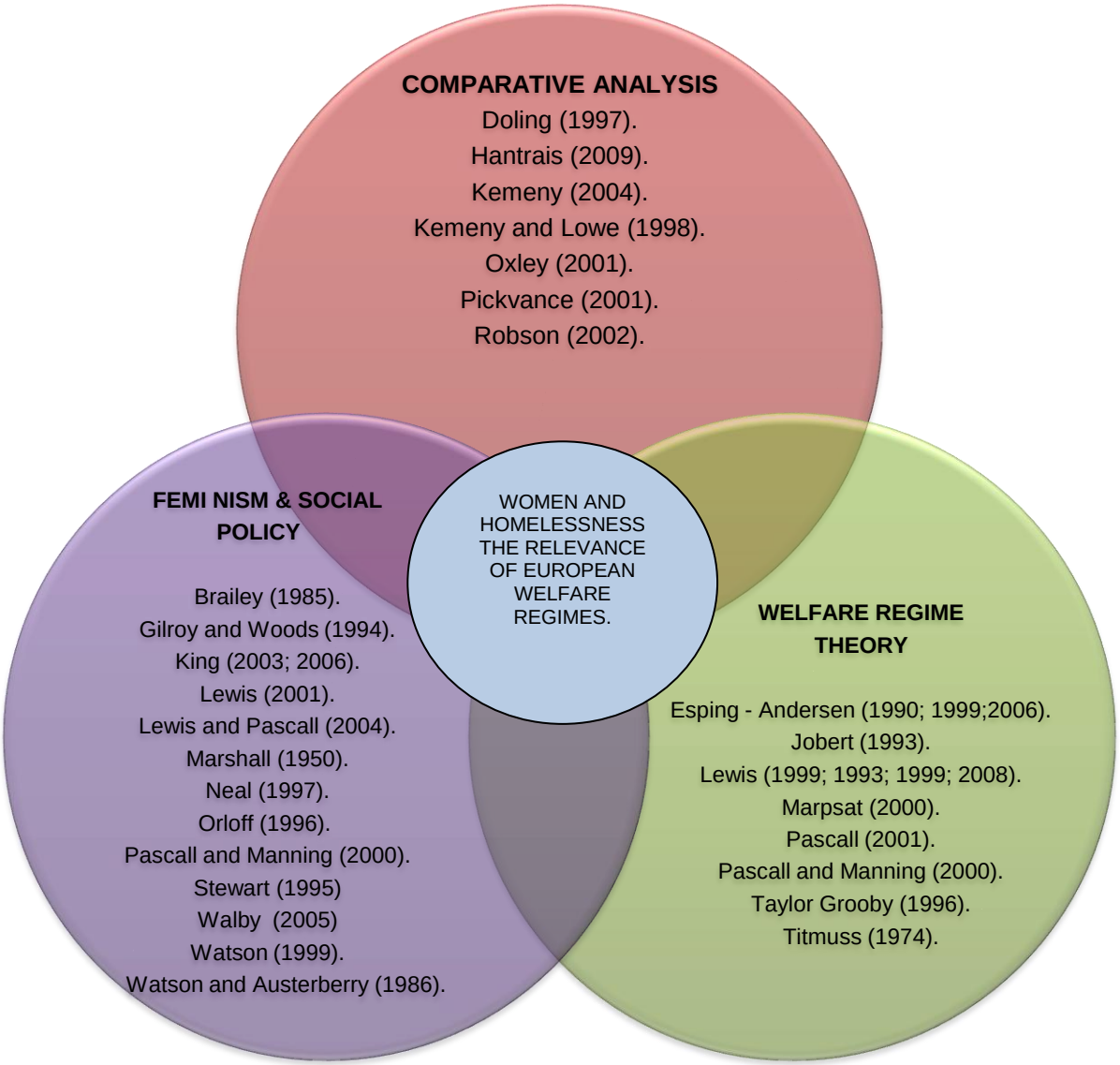
Secondly, the use of *comparative analysis* has given a unique insight into the similarities and differences in women's homelessness in these three case study countries. In the case of England, the social housing sector comprises 18 per cent of the total housing types, despite various attempts in recent to recent years to commodify the stock and continues to provide a safety net for those households who are unable to look to the private sector, most frequently because housing costs are prohibitively expensive. But "social housing" takes different forms in different countries. For example, in France, the main providers of social housing are organisations known as *habitations a loyer moderées* (HLMs) which approximate to housing associations in England. But access to HLM accommodation is means tested unlike its English and Irish counterparts. In France, the private rented sector comprises 20 per cent of total housing stock, compared to just 10 per cent in Ireland and 11 per cent in England. Moreover, in England, local housing authorities are responsible for the

discharge of the statutory homeless function but in Ireland, health boards play a more prominent role and there is no explicit right to housing for the homeless. In France, no one statutory agency takes the lead as homeless responsibilities are enmeshed with general municipality housing needs (the impact of implementation of the first enforceable right to housing in France in December 2008, the *Loi DALO*, has yet to be reviewed).

Thirdly, the thesis looked to *feminism and social policy* to ground the research. In the case of single parents in England, the presence of children frequently engages the welfare machinery when a parent is faced with the prospect of homelessness. This aspect of welfare policy has particular implications for women give that lone parents with a female head of household are the most likely to use statutory homelessness services in England (CLG, 2009c). This suggests more enhanced housing "rights" in liberalist welfare regimes in countries such as England where there is ostensibly an enforceable "right" to housing under the statutory framework for specific groups of women such as lone parents. In this respect, notions of "citizenship" provided an insightful frame of reference for reviewing similarities and differences in women's homelessness in the three case study countries. But the realisation of these rights comes at a price. A body of evidence has emerged in England which shows how accessing homelessness rights through the statutory framework results in spatial inequalities on the grounds of gender given that lone parents are more likely to be rehoused through the statutory homeless route into social housing, frequently in areas of low demand (Lewis and Pascall, 2001; Watson and Austerberry, 1986). The research has shown that domestic violence from a male partner remains a key trigger to homelessness in women, despite the different safeguards to protect victims of domestic abuse in each case study country. Further, the research findings indicate that lone parents and single women are disproportionately represented amongst households defined as living in poverty and subsequently living in social housing despite the fact that the proportion of social housing varies in England, Ireland and France and that vastly different policies apply at the nation state level. Therefore key debates

around feminism and social policy are also integral to the thesis and in particular the writings of Gilroy and Woods (1994) and Williams (1989).

Figure 1: Comparative Analysis, Welfare Regime Theory and Feminism and Social Policy With Key Academic Citations.



1.2 Women and Homelessness: A Comparative Perspective

There is a substantial body of research evidence which clearly demonstrates that women are significantly over represented as consumers of homelessness services in England. In this respect, the feminist analyses of homelessness provided by Gilroy and Woods (1994); Neal (1997); Watson (1999) and Watson and Austerberry (1986) proved pivotal to the writing of this thesis. The study assessed the relative vulnerability to homelessness posed to women by focusing the four key, interrelated variables of: domestic violence; relationship breakdown; poverty and being the household type of lone parent. The body of evidence in England has consistently identified these variables as the principal pathways to homelessness for women. But no comparative housing literature to date has focused on the variation in pathways to homelessness for women in different countries using dominant welfare typologies, comparative analysis and feminism and social policy as the conceptual framework. As a result, no published data exists on the variations between countries in women's homelessness and the reasons for this substantial gap in the literature. The limited data which does exist is largely descriptive rather than analytical and has therefore done little to highlight the specific experiences of women within different Western European countries or more globally and more specifically, the similarities and differences between countries. This thesis bridges that gap.

What is clear is that women's pathways to homelessness are different to those of men. The relevance of domestic violence caused by a male partner is well documented in CLG (2009b); European Parliamentary Assembly (2000), Avramov (1998). The significance of relationship breakdown as another pathway to women's homelessness is outlined in (ODPM (2002); CLG (2009b; 2008a and 2008b). Poverty is also well recognised (European Commission, (2000c); Brewster (1995); Becker (1997) and Wolf (1997); Bell and Brewer (2007); Avramov, (1998); Salicath and Thomson (1992); Daly, (1993).Over representation of lone parents notably using statutory homelessness services is well documented in the case of England (CLG, 2009b). But the relative institutional risk to homelessness posed to women by these factors in Western

European countries remains substantially under researched. This thesis bridges that gap.

1.3 Research Objectives

This research had six key objectives:

1. To examine how and why women become homeless in England, the Republic of Ireland and France.

2. To evaluate the relevance, from a feminist perspective, of the prevailing welfare regimes in each country in understanding the four interrelated triggers to homelessness in women namely:

- Domestic violence where the perpetrator of the violence is male.
- Relationship breakdown.
- Poverty, specifically linked to dependency on state benefits; unpaid employment , (namely childcare) part-time and low paid employment and;
- Being a household type of lone parent where there is a female head of household.

3. To investigate the variations between England, Ireland and France in these four primary triggers by presenting a critical review of each country's "homelessness system."

4. To inform a feminist review of dominant theoretical constructs of welfare regimes.

5. To evaluate the contribution of theoretical constructs of citizenship, in analysing women's pathways to homelessness in Europe

6. To propose a theoretical approach which is inclusive of an overt feminist agenda in comparative housing studies.

In meeting these research objectives, the study used the instrumental case study approach and focused on the three regional cities of: Leeds (England); Cork (Ireland) and Lyon (France) for data collation and analysis.

Comparative housing research has emerged from the growing international scholarship found in the social sciences. Hantrais (2009; 2007) provides a comprehensive account of research methods and issues of policy transfer in comparative social science research. In particular, she provides sound insight as regards conceptual equivalence at the nation state level when undertaking comparative research. Hantrais and Appleton (2000) point to the value of balancing national uniqueness (thereby embracing particularism) alongside research which places universalism (thereby promoting universality of findings as readily interchangeable between countries) as its central focus. The research for this thesis adopts an intermediary position by fusing the three key theoretical strands of welfare regimes; feminism and social policy and comparative housing analysis. The thesis assesses the relevance of the three theoretical strands within the context of each case study country. The thesis shows how definitions of homelessness did vary from country to country but the application of the "homelessness system" model sought to promote conceptual equivalence in the overall analysis (see section 1.4). The three case study cities were selected based on broad similarities as regards demographic profile and the extent to which they are representative of homelessness systems at the nation state level. But more importantly, they were selected as instruments because of how they may inform the study through the provision of rich primary data thereby allowing for analysis of previously under researched phenomena. Capital cities were excluded from the analysis given the inevitable distortion caused by higher levels of public funding, frequently reflected in enhanced services provision such as additional hostels and other services. Individual cities more readily lend themselves to assessments of commonality and disparity as regards potential for "transferability" between countries than analyses which focus solely on the nation state (see Doling (1997); Kemeny and Lowe, (1998). The city case

approach in the thesis therefore provided a unique insight into the homelessness systems of these countries and their relevance to women.

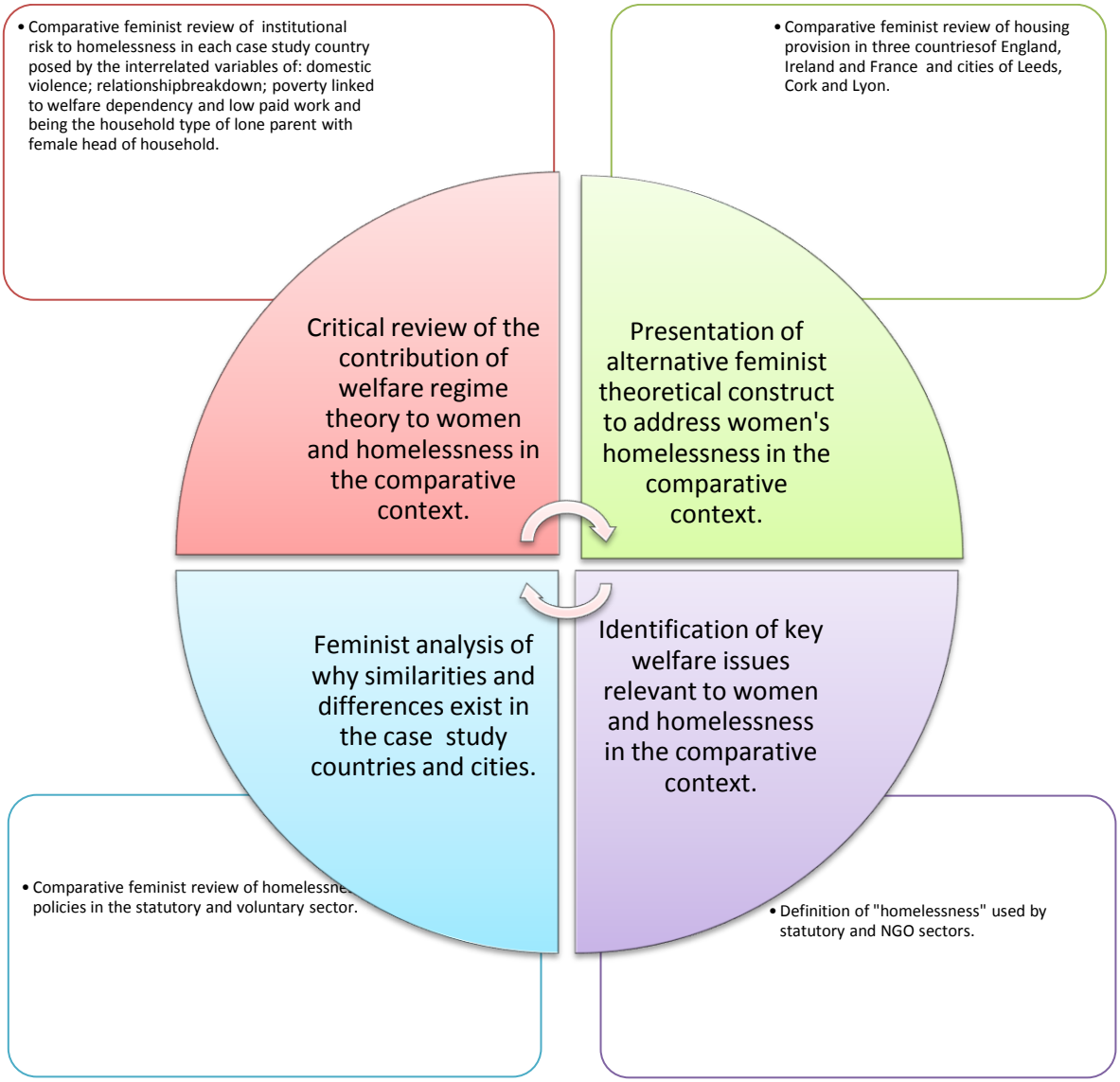
A thematic analysis was applied throughout the thesis to make the link between welfare regime theory, comparative housing analysis and feminism and social policy. Notions of institutional risk using the four key variables of domestic violence, relationship breakdown, poverty and being a lone parent household was also included in the analysis. Analysis of primary and secondary data was undertaken using the thematic model contained in Table 1.

1.4 "Homelessness Systems" as a Conceptual Framework

The concept of "homelessness systems" has not featured, to date, in the comparative housing literature. Here again, this research adds to the existing body of literature by showing how the concept of homelessness systems may be successfully applied to the comparative housing context.

In the research, homelessness systems are understood to be ***"****the interdependent mechanisms by which a country operationalises its institutional responses to homelessness, specifically at the point of housing crisis, namely through service provision in the statutory and voluntary sector, reflecting its dominant approaches to welfare".* This concept was considered with direct relevance to women as key consumers of homelessness services in the statutory and voluntary sectors.

Figure 2: Conceptual Framework: Welfare Regimes and Comparative Analysis of Women's Homelessness.



1.5 Thematic Analysis

The thematic analysis used in the study centred around four primary themes of:

1. Welfare regimes as theoretical constructs: a feminist critical review.
2. Housing "rights" and notions of citizenship: relevance to women and homelessness.
3. Homelessness systems in England (Leeds), Ireland (Cork) and France (Lyon) from a feminist perspective.
4. Refinement of the theoretical constructs implicit in the welfare regimes and the relevance of a feminist review based on comparative study of homeless women in the three case study cities.

Four primary themes and twelve sub themes were critically reviewed within the analysis. A summary of how the study's four research objectives were met through the application of the thematic model is contained in Table 1:

Table 1: Thematic Analysis Applied in Study of Women and Homelessness in England (Leeds), Ireland (Cork) and France (Lyon).
THEME 1: WELFARE REGIMES AS THEORETICAL CONSTRUCTS IN HOUSING AND HOMELESSNESS: A FEMINIST REVIEW.
Sub theme A: Critical assessment of the work of Esping-Andersen and the "Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism"; review of alterative approaches to housing welfare from a feminist perspective; link between welfare regimes and homelessness.
THEME 2: HOUSING RIGHTS & NOTIONS OF CITIZENSHIP: FEMINIST ANALYSIS
Sub theme B: Critical review of debates related to citizenship, women's homelessness and welfare regimes.
Sub theme C: Definitions of homelessness used in England, Ireland and France; relevance to welfare regime theory and homeless women.
THEME 3 ANALYSIS OF HOMELESSNESS SYSTEMS BY CASE STUDY COUNTRY AND CITY
Sub theme D: Critical review of housing provision in England, Ireland and France; identification of key issues relevant to women and welfare regimes.
Sub theme E: Feminist overview of homelessness systems in England, Ireland and France.
Sub theme F: Broad perceptions of nature and extent of homelessness by country; between men and women. Triggers to homelessness for both men and women Degrees of risk; identification of issues relevant to women.
Sub theme G: Policies of statutory organisations concerned with the alleviation and prevention of women's homelessness, particularly policies regarding direct access accommodation, housing advice and resettlement procedures; this may include the social services, education and health authorities and equivalent in each country.
Sub theme H: Policies of voluntary organisations or non-government organisations which provide housing and other support services for homeless women; include advice and advocacy agencies as well as direct accommodation providers.
Sub theme I: Assessment of degree of institutional risk posed in the England, Ireland and France posed by the variables of domestic violence; relationship breakdown; poverty and being a lone parent household.
THEME 4: FURTHER REFINEMENT OF THE THEORETICAL MODEL OF WELFARE REGIMES: FEMINIST REVIEW BASED ON COMPARATIVE STUDY OF HOMELESS WOMEN IN LEEDS, CORK AND LYON.
Sub theme J: Overall evaluation of welfare approaches in alleviation and prevention of homelessness amongst women where housing exclusion is caused by the four primary triggers of domestic violence; relationship breakdown; poverty and being the household type of lone parent; review of the extent to which relative dominant triggers reflect broad approaches to gender and specifically women as consumers of homelessness services.
Sub theme K: Review of overall theoretical framework to include the relative risk to homelessness posed by the interrelated variables of domestic violence; relationship breakdown; poverty and being a household type of lone parents. Based on overall assessment f primary and secondary research evidence.
Sub theme L: Implications for comparative housing studies and need to recognise a more gender sensitive research framework.

1.6 Structure of the Thesis

The work begins by presenting a feminist review of the work of Gøsta Esping-Andersen on welfare regimes within the context of women's homelessness. The thesis then looks at the theoretical connections between welfare regimes, homelessness and gender. This is followed by series of critical reflections which assess notions of housing "rights" for women and the relationship between rights to "citizenship" from a feminist perspective. Then the concept of "homelessness systems" is applied to the case study cities of Leeds, Cork and Lyon to critically consider the degree of institutional risk posed to women in the three countries by the four interrelated variables of domestic violence; relationship breakdown, poverty and being the household type of lone parent with a female head of household. The thesis concludes by revisiting the notion of welfare regimes and presenting an alternative theoretical model from which women's homelessness may be considered within the comparative context.

Chapter One provides the rationale and context for the study and presents the research aim and objectives. The theoretical context for the study, in particular the way in which the work fuses welfare regime theory and comparative housing analysis with feminism and social policy, is also provided here.

Chapter Two summarises the research methodology used in the study. The chapter demonstrates the way in which a constructionist epistemology is used throughout the research and shows the importance of using grounded theory in the thematic analysis of women's homelessness. Critical commentary on the instrumental case study approach is presented here. Summary case study data using in respect of Leeds, Cork and Lyon is also provided in Chapter Two.

Chapter Three defines the notion of welfare regimes and continues by deconstructing dominant welfare regime theory from a feminist perspective. In particular, the superficiality of the dichotomy between state and market is discussed and its relevance for homeless women highlighted. The omission of the voluntary sector as a key aspect of social protection within welfare regime

theory is also addressed here. The way in which dominant welfare typologies contribute to variations of the "male breadwinner model" in the three case study countries is then outlined and linked to a feminist review of modern risk society. The four primary triggers to homelessness in women (domestic violence; relationship breakdown; poverty as a result of benefit dependency and lone parenthood) are further developed in Chapter Three. Primary data is interwoven into the narrative of the chapter to highlight the similarities and differences between the three case study countries.

In Chapter Four, the feminist deconstruction of welfare regime theory is taken further by providing a detailed overview of the homelessness systems in England, Ireland and France. A summary of housing provision is given which draws on the institutional and constitutional context of each country. Key issues are identified which are relevant to women's homelessness in the comparative context. Chapter Four synergises welfare regime theory with selected debates in feminism and social policy to demonstrate the way in which the specific context of each country is vital in promoting a further understanding of women's homelessness in the comparative context.

Chapter Five provides on a feminist review of citizenship and highlights the nature of any enforceable right to housing in the three case study countries. The chapter begins by demonstrating the relationship between feminism and social policy and then continues by identifying homelessness "rights" enshrined in statute in England, Ireland and France. Further primary data from the homelessness professionals interviewed for the study are interwoven into the narrative to reinforce the discussion on citizenship.

Chapter Six, Seven and Eight focus on the key triggers to homelessness amongst women. Chapter Six focuses on domestic violence and relationship breakdown. Poverty as a trigger is the topic of Chapter Seven and being a lone parent the subject of Chapter Eight.

Chapter Nine concludes the work and revisits each of the four main themes and seventeen reviewed in the study. Chapter Nine calls for step change in comparative housing studies by showing the substantial inadequacies of dominant welfare regime theory in respect of homeless women in the three case cities. By summarising the research evidence, Chapter Nine critically reviews the institutional risk for homeless women in each case study city and shows the enduring relevance of feminism and social policy for comparative housing analysis.

CHAPTER TWO: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

2.1 Summary

As stated in section 1.1., comparative housing analysis has neglected to address the principal pathways to women's homelessness. On one level, this is a surprising omission given the increased level of interest in international scholarship in the social sciences on the topic of housing provision alongside a growing awareness of the global context in which this provision is located. On another level, the methodological dilemmas posed by the prospect of undertaking a comparative housing analysis in respect of a specific group such as women may seem intractable at first glance. Chapter Two concentrates on the latter point by outlining the way in which the study sought to promote rigor and robustness in the analysis thereby contributing to existing knowledge.

The chapter begins by reiterating the rationale for undertaking the feminist review of welfare regimes. The chapter continues by explaining the reasons for using a constructionist epistemology throughout the research. The importance of using grounded theory is also summarised and its compatibility with this thematic analysis of women's homelessness is explained. The chapter then provides a rationale for the choice of the instrumental case study cities of Leeds, Cork and Lyon and a short summary of the homelessness system in each city. Chapter Two concludes with a summary of the research techniques used in the collation and analysis of primary data from the homelessness professionals in each case study country. The importance of peer review at an early stage in the research process is also highlighted.

2.2 Applying Welfare Typologies in the Comparative Analysis of Women and Homelessness

Welfare regimes provide a useful framework in comparative housing studies by allowing the focus of the research to transcend from the nation state to the international level. Yet the relevance of welfare regimes as a framework is vastly under deployed in international housing research. This study has

demonstrated how welfare regimes may be reclaimed and reconstructed by using as an effective and robust research framework in assessing women's pathways to homelessness. To date, no published research has critically reviewed the relevance of welfare regimes in assessing women's vulnerability to homelessness at the nation state level. Interestingly, there have been some recent attempts to examine the role of welfare typologies in respect of health and single parents in the comparative context (see Burstrom *et al,* 2010). But, as this thesis will demonstrate, no published work to date has used welfare regime theory to provide an original insight into the triggers of women's homelessness at the European level or the specific institutional factors which militate against women's homelessness. This thesis bridges that substantial gap in the literature. Furthermore, the thesis highlights the significant limitations to applying the welfare regime framework when viewed from a feminist perspective. Using an instrumental case study approach, this thesis presents an alternative feminist framework by critically reviewing women's pathways to homelessness. Here again, this thesis makes an original contribution to knowledge given that the instrumental case study approach remains under used in international housing research despite being used very effectively by respected social theorists such as Doling (1997) and Kemeny and Lowe (1998).

2.3 Feminist Research Approach and Grounded Theory

The research approach which underpinned this study is best encapsulated by a social constructionist epistemology which emphasises the importance of knowledge acquisition. Schwandt (2000) argues that social constructionist epistemologies are inextricably linked to perspectivism thereby rejecting passive knowledge which does not interplay with different social phenomenon. The overall research approach was congruent with social constructionist epistemology as it applied ***thematic analysis*** and ***grounded theory*** to highlight the variations between countries in women's pathways to homelessness. The research adopted an overt feminist approach so that the housing needs of women were placed at the centre of this knowledge vista. Arguably, the exclusion of women from research endeavours does in itself epitomise an

inequality of gender relations. Women centred research such as this study seeks to reclaim the comparative housing research agenda by shifting the balance to the female gaze. This reclaiming of the research agenda by women is perhaps best summarised who Maguire (2007) contends that: *"a key feminist influence on action research has been restructuring the power dynamic of the research process itself...feminist impetus to redefine power and its manifestation into research emerged from lived experience".*

(Maguire, 2007, page 61).

Feminist research approaches are woefully lacking in comparative housing research. This thesis therefore seeks to bridge that gap. The research model applied to this study reflected Freedman's (2002) approach for feminist research where four interrelated objectives of feminist research were identified:

- To promote new knowledge which is aimed at the promotion of social change.

- To acknowledge that research is often undertaken by men within patriarchal institutions or professional contexts.

- To enshrine the principles of feminism within the overall research process by legitimising and centring the meanings women give to their world.

- To reflect these values throughout the research process from focusing the research enquiry to data collation, analysis and presentation; application of theoretical constructs.

Grounded theory was also used to inform the study. The anthology of writings contained in Nagy and Biber (2006) demonstrates the academic community's commitment to using grounded theory in feminist research. In recent years, comparative housing research has become a key vehicle for both highlighting specific aspects of housing policy, practice and management (thus focusing on

description) through to methodically and systematically assessing, then comparing and contrasting differences between countries (moving to *analysis*). But grounded theory enables us to move from the specific (here, individual local authorities' homelessness systems) to the institutional (how responses inform our knowledge of the nature and adequacies of welfare regimes in relation to gender). The study used the principles of grounded theory by initially identifying then critically reviewing the key reasons why women became homeless in the three case study countries. This allowed for both an assessment of the relative institutional risk posed to homelessness women in each country by the four interrelated variables given in section 1.1 and the application of the thematic framework given in Table 1.

Table 2 demonstrates how the research undertaken for the thesis reflects Strauss and Corbin's (1990) four prerequisites for the appropriate application for rigorous grounded theory in academic research:

Table 2: Application of Grounded Theory in Thesis Based On Strauss and Corbin Principles (1990).	
Principle	Evidence in Thesis
It should fit the phenomenon, provided it has been carefully derived from diverse data and is adherent to the common reality of the area.	Comprehensive literature review on primary triggers to homelessness in women; awareness and critical; review of welfare regimes and inclusion of gender perspective.
It should provide understanding and be understandable.	Explicit research objectives; terms of reference well defined.
Because the data is comprehensive, it should provide generality, in that the theory includes extensive variation and is abstract enough to be applicable to a wide variety of contexts.	Peer review and pilot contributed to development of appropriate methodology. Overall research methodology and readily transferable to different needs groups e.g. young people; ethnic minorities. Development of model of homelessness systems may be imported to other countries to inform critique of welfare regimes internationally.
It should provide control, in the sense of stating the conditions under which the theory applies and describing a reasonable basis for action.	Moderated by triangulation and representative data collation and analysis by sector type. Extensive variables included in quantitative questionnaire in the three case study countries of England, Ireland and France. Variation of perception of risk incorporated into gender and welfare regime critique; national context of each country emphasised to highlight similarities and differences. Critical review of methodology undertaken to address limitations of moving from the universal to the particular.

Based on Strauss and Corbin (1990).

The use of grounded theory also helped to capture the overall complexities of this feminist comparative housing study whilst at the same time, allowing for the identification of similarities and differences in variations of perceptions of risk between countries using data from the homelessness professionals in each country.

2.4 Limitations of Existing Homelessness Research in Europe.

Descriptive accounts of housing exclusion have gained increasing prominence in recent years, reflecting the emergence of European institutional machinery generally and collaboration between researchers and academics at the European level. The most prolific accounts of homelessness at the pan-European level have come from FEANTSA (*Fédération Européenne d'Associations Nationales Travaillant Avec les Sans Abris* - the European Association of Organisations Working With the Homeless), a research and campaigning organisation based in Brussels (see FEANTSA 1997; 2000; 2002). On the whole, FEANTSA's work is characterised by enumerative, linear accounts of levels of homelessness which focus on homeless "people" with no reference to gender or indeed any other socioeconomic characteristics. The FEANTSA approach has largely been involved with the use of "head counts" based on the occupancy of emergency bed spaces. This macro approach does provide valuable contextual secondary data for highlighting the issue of general housing exclusion. Quantitative statistics are used to illustrate levels of homeless in individual European countries but as the number of emergency bed spaces are generally used in these evaluations, these studies serve more as a reflection of existing emergency *provision* (therefore the outcome of public resource allocation and, by implication, the flow of administrative procedures) rather than true *need*. In addition, since the research evidence strongly suggests that women are more likely then men to seek their own private solutions to homelessness rather than using existing mainstream services provided by the welfare state or the voluntary sector, this data holds little value for research focusing on theoretical and institutional contexts in which women's homelessness is located at the nation state and city level. There are some

exceptions to this one dimensional approach (see Doherty *et al*'s 2006 account of how concepts of public space impact on housing outcomes and Höjdestrand's work published in 2007 provides an engaging account of homelessness in postsocialist Russia). This thesis acknowledges the pioneering research of FEANTSA but also sought to look behind the curtain at the institutional forces which underpin welfare regimes in the three countries and implications for homeless women. Welfare malfunction is arguably characterised in the form of homelessness across men and women frequently manifested by spatial inequalities.

Defining terms of reference is clearly critical in many forms of research. But in comparative studies, lack of clarity undermines legitimate observations particularly when focusing on the similarities and differences between countries. Pickvance (2001) highlighted the importance of the definitions in comparative housing studies before analysis may begin. This thesis therefore defined principal terms of reference such as "homelessness" as used by the statutory sector and where available, the voluntary sector and its equivalent in the three case study cities. In addition, the study defined "poverty", "domestic violence" using definitions used at the national state level on each country. This approach served to ensure both consistency in the analysis and to demonstrated the way in which key terms of reference were shaped by welfare typologies at the nation state level.

2.5 Characteristics of High Quality Comparative Housing Research

In his consideration of the variables which are integral to robust comparative housing research, Oxley (2001) emphasises the importance of far reaching, explicit methodologies when seeking to promote high quality research outputs. In his view, great temptation lies in focusing on the relatively weak merits of housing convergence (and on occasions housing divergence) *phenomena* to the detriment of developing more rigorous, theoretical discourses on housing policy and practice. Are opportunities being lost across a range of policy areas

because of the complexities of analysis? Oxley (2001) reminds us of the value and legitimacy of further theorising comparative housing analysis:

“Why there is similarity or convergence is usually under-explored. The paucity of theorising in international housing research helps to explain why, when an idea seems to have some potential, it is used with much repetition. This is true even when the theory was not designed to deal with housing research."

(Oxley, 2001, page 93).

Oxley’s hierarchal typology identifies varying degrees of comparative housing analysis ranging from "zero" to "high." Heavily descriptive accounts which lack theoretical content (such as the FEANTSA accounts of homelessness) are located at the "zero" end of the spectrum. By contrast, systematic analyses focusing on similarities, differences using explicit theory and applying high levels of empiricism are placed in the "high" category. The research undertaken for this study is located in the "high category" given the systematic and detailed analysis of women's pathways to homelessness and the fusion of welfare regime theory; comparative housing analysis and feminism and social policy.

Table 3 shows Oxley's classification for levels of comparative housing analysis:

Table 3: Oxley's (2001) Levels of Comparative Housing Analysis.	
Level	Characteristics
High	1. Systematically examines inter-country similarities and differences. 2. Analytical approach. 3. Explicit theory. 4. High level of empiricism.
Middle	1. Significant element of comparison. 2. Options: 3. Lessons from other countries (policy) 4. Lessons from other countries (practice) 5. External impacts
Low	1. Descriptive 2. Covers several countries
Zero	1. Descriptive and/or analytical 2. Covers a single country for international consideration

Adapted from Oxley (ibid).

Despite the fluidity which exists between the different levels in Oxley's taxonomy, this hierarchy is useful in developing a broader phenomenological approach as well highlighting the value of empiricism for the comparative housing researcher. The typology succinctly identifies the key variables which contribute to high quality research of different countries and highlights the valuable contribution that research can make to ***developing explanations for specific phenomenon within different countries***. Any research project which embodies the high level characteristics of systematic analysis, explicit theory and high levels of empiricism is essentially ordained to produce a more robust critique of the selected issue. This was largely the approach adopted for this gender and European homelessness systems study.

2.6 Interpretative Approaches in Comparative Housing Analysis

Limitations will inevitably persist within a comparative housing research project. Most obviously, the seemingly intractable problems associated with the robustness of primary data analysis accentuated by definitional and conceptual variance. An important point here relates to translation of data from one language to another and in particular, the transferability of conceptual and pragmatic ideas between countries. Robinson (1997) warns against the prolific application of far reaching theories from specific countries masquerading as universalisms. Rather, application of comparative research methodologies based on the ***interpretation*** and ***meaning from country to country*** represents a more appropriate mechanism in the pursuit of rigor research outcomes (also see Newmark, 1994; Larson, 1984; Hantrais, 2009). There are numerous examples to illustrate how caution must be observed in the research context but a good example here is the way in which the foyer model, originally a French concept, has been imported to England. The English foyer model occupancy rights of medium term accommodation to securing and maintaining employment. The occupier is frequently classed as a licensee. In France, the links between employment and occupation of the foyer accommodation are much less clearly defined and not mutually dependent. A further illustration is Choice Based Lettings where the Delft model, originally called the "advertising model" in the Netherlands, was significantly altered to match dominant political discourse of Blair's administration. In the case of England, addressing cross cutting policy issues such as low demand and homelessness have become central to the Choice Based Lettings model whereas these feature much less in the Netherlands (Brown and Yates, 2000). Much vigilance is therefore required when assessing and reviewing the transferability of a policy from one country to another.

A further consideration is the extent to which epistemological variations between the case study countries may impact on the research process, the research findings and ultimately the quality of research outputs. In respect of Ireland where housing studies has not yet emerged as a recognised academic

discipline, Lorenz (2003) notes that Irish approaches to social work research and education largely reflect those adopted in Britain. Broady (1996) describes how French sociologists tend to favour a broad philosophical approach to social science research drawing heavily on the writings of Durkeim and Bourdieu rather than defaulting to the American research model which is much more theoretically driven and empirical research (two main elements of this study). The conspicuous use of homelessness systems within this research sought to minimise these epistemological differences so that these ***similarities and differences*** are recognised, integrated and valued without undermining the overall validity of the study (see section 2.7, 2.8 and 2.9).

2.7 The Research Process

A phenomenological approach was applied throughout the study (also see section 2.14). Epistemologically, research processes rooted in phenomenology promote deep and detailed analyses. Here, the author of this thesis drew upon her expertise both as a former housing professional, then as an academic specialising in homelessness. But the use of phenomenology also assumes that professional or personal involvement in the research context will not unduly impact on the objectivity of the work. Social science researchers must be able to interpret responses from the respondent's perspective, regardless of inherited professional or personal objectives (Robson, 2002). The research undertaken for this thesis took this into account by ensuring that the largely quantitative questionnaires and the topic guide used in the semi-structured interviews were closely based on the limited body of academic research on women's homelessness. The peer review which was undertaken at the beginning of the study also sought to moderate any negative effect of prior experience on the overall thesis.

The thematic model constructed for the study sought capture the researcher's existing knowledge and professional experience, particular from her experience as a homelessness manager in the late 1980s in an urban local authority in the East Midlands of England. The researcher therefore engaged in the work from a

position of strength. Lone parents and single women comprised the vast majority of applicants who were rehoused through the homeless route within this urban authority. The author of this thesis then undertook a postgraduate programme in housing studies and subsequently left housing practice in the late mid 1990s to begin a career in lecturing and research specialising in housing and social policy. The writings of academic colleagues in feminist housing issues proved (and still prove) a continual source of inspiration. A pivotal moment for the author of this thesis was the publication in 1994 of *"Housing Women"* by Rosemary Gilroy's and Roberta Woods. It is highly likely that without this text, this thesis would never have been written. Gilroy and Woods bridged a substantial gap in the literature on housing inequality in England which, until then, had not been adequately addressed by the housing research community. Valuable writing had filtered through on housing and social inequalities (notably Morris and Winn, 1990) but Gilroy and Woods' work presented a much needed explicit feminist perspective. Finally, a text had been published which legitimised feminist housing research by focusing on the most acute form of socioeconomic exclusion - homelessness. The work of Gilroy and Woods proved fundamental in both enabling the author of this thesis to both contextualise her own professional experience gained in local authority homelessness services and to develop a theoretical context for feminist based housing research.

The methodology used in the study also sought to mitigate any inadvertent subjectivity. This was addressed in three main ways by:

- Applying high levels of empiricism for primary data analysis using a total of forty five quantitative questionnaires, fifteen from each case study city involving the production of just under 700 variables. In addition, the completion of a total of twenty semi structured interviews (seven in Leeds, seven in Cork and six in Lyon) to incorporate a rich qualitative dimension to the study. All qualitative interviews were conducted face to face (with the exception of one in Lyon which

was conducted by telephone due interviewee unavailability at the time of the field visit).

- Inviting peer review from six independent academics specialising in comparative housing research, feminist enquiry and homelessness in the development of the development of the research methodology for the study (2001 - 2008).

- Using four independent researchers for the French case study to produce the French version of quantitative questionnaire. Three of these researchers were native French speakers with an interest in housing and/or social policy issues. These researchers also conducted and transcribed the French interviews in both English and French. These researchers also assumed a quality assurance role to check more technical and colloquial translations undertaken by the author. The draft questionnaires and topic guide were discussed and amended with one of the French research assistants before being sent to organisations working with homeless women in the three case study cities.

Data from the qualitative interviews were initially transcribed *verbatim* then extracted and transferred to the thematic model developed for the analysis (see Appendix 2). This method of data extraction was used following an unsuccessful pilot of the Nudist software programme in 2007. It was decided that quotations would be interwoven into the analysis to provide evidence of a phenomenon, to make the thesis more accessible to the reader and to make the link between the theoretical and the policy themes in the thesis more explicit. Given that there were data in French and English, a decision was made not to include natural speech characteristics such as "*ums*" and "*ahs*" or to include phonetic representations such as forms of dialect. This decision as designed to help the reader stay focused on the material so that key points would not become lost in the text. The job title, gender and nature of organisation (whether statutory or voluntary) was given after each direction quotation from the respondent so that the reader may assess how relevant these factors are in

shaping the interviewee's response. For example, those respondents from a statutory organisation (local authority or municipality in France) may be expected to give the corporate view of women's homelessness by defending the local authority's position. Similarly, it may be assumed that respondents from the voluntary sector, normally characterised in a social policy role, may be expected to openly challenge practices which directly impact on women. But in fact the research revealed that the organisation for whom the respondent worked did not necessarily influence their response in such as predictable way. The qualitative data was analysed using SPSS software including the qualitative variables which were also labelled and then integrated into the commentary in the thesis.

2.8 Ethical Considerations and Constraints

The ethics of the research were very much visible from the outset rather than as an adjunct to the work. Interviews with housing and social care professionals were seen as the most appropriate way to gather the primary data (as distinct from interviewing homeless women individually) for two reasons. First of all, to use the norm of "common language" between professionals. Secondly, to protect the research respondents. These two points are developed below.

First of all, in line with the structurist epistemology which underpinned the research, professionals tend to share a common language. This generally occurs even though precise definitions and interpretations may vary between different countries. In comparative research, these variations are identified in the study when they do occur. Recognition of this common language consolidated the comparative framework and in turn, facilitated a robust comparative analysis of the primary data from the three case study cities. Writers including Finnemore and Sikkink (20001) point to the value of using thematic analysis in international research projects where structurist epistemologies and common frames of reference between respondents prevail. The twelve research sub themes which underpinned the comparative analysis are reproduced Table 1. Moreover, the research project proved to have an

empowering dimension for respondents. The fact that every respondent who was approached agreed to participate in the study demonstrates an appetite for the collation of reflections on women's pathways to homelessness. More specifically, two respondents (one in France and the other in Ireland) explicitly reported that they welcomed the research as they had not, until now, had the opportunity to reflect on the reasons for women's homelessness. The respondents' willingness to participate in the study alongside the explicit suggestion from two respondents that the study provided a form for critical reflection accords with observations made by Reinharz and Dandmen (1992) and Lather (1988) that feminism research has an empowerment and advocacy role for the respondents involved in the study.

Hlawken (2007) writes poignantly about revictimizing the victims whereby women who have experienced domestic abuse are invited to discuss their experiences. The outcomes may not necessarily always be negative but as it is an integral part of research ethics to do no harm, it was felt that asking women directly may awaken damaging, traumatic memories and this may be exacerbated by language issues, notably in the case of Lyon. More positively, professionals share a common language which would further supported the comparative analysis. A decision was therefore taken early on in the study to deploy the expert testimony approach when gathering primary data to protect homeless women as a vulnerable group. This approach did prompt further reflection on the marginalisation of the voices of the homeless women themselves in the study and the extent to which this limited the legitimacy of the study.

2.9 Rationale for Case Study City Approach

The research has focused on the three case study cities of Leeds (England), Lyon (France) and Cork (Republic of Ireland). Bromley (1990) characterises the case study approach as the *"systematic inquiry into an event or a set of related events which aims to describe and explain the phenomenon of interest".*

(Bromley, 1990, page 9).

The legitimacy of using a case study approach in comparative housing analysis is well documented (Doling, 1997; Kemeny, and Lowe, 1998). Yet this research technique remains woefully under deployed in comparative housing studies. This thesis aims to bridge that gap. In the case of housing and homelessness provision, individual cities readily lend themselves to assessments of commonality and disparity as regards potential for transferability between countries. Snow and Anderson (1991) reiterate this view in their assessment of the role of American case studies in homelessness research by pointing to the richness and clarity of data which may be obtained from a city to city basis. Crompton (2001) highlights the value of city case studies in feminist analysis in the comparative context and emphasises how this approach seeks to consolidate the complexities of the dynamics involved.

The research undertaken for this thesis applied the instrumental case study approach" whereby the individual cities served as the vehicle for collecting primary data, the analysis of secondary data. Instrumental case studies are not expected to be representative of the phenomenon but rather to act as an instrument in revealing previously under researched phenomena. Cottrell and Mc Kenzie (2005) capture the instrumental case study well by when they say that as *"case study itself is of secondary interest and the primary purpose is to provide insight into an issue."*

(Cottrell and Mc Kenzie, 2005, page 222).

The instrumental case study approach used in this study also ensured that the limited time to undertake the research was effectively used (also see Stake's (1995) critical review of the instrumental case study approach as a device to maximise data when time and resources are limited.

Regional capitals such as Leeds, Cork and Lyon allow for a more microanalytical approach whereby the key characteristics relevant to that the individual city's homelessness system and women may be identified and evaluated. In the case of France, published research on homelessness in Paris dominates (see Marpsat, 2000) whereas Lyon, the second largest city, features seldom in the comparative housing literature. Hall and Hickman (2005) are one notable exception to this. As with Leeds, Lyon has undergone considerable growth in service and technological sectors since the beginning of the 1990s. During this period, economic buoyancy has been linked with the emergence of specific sectors including textiles, pharmaceuticals and technology. In Ireland, the economic fortunes of the country have been nothing short of transformed since the beginning of the 1990s when it became a legitimate global player in servicing the technological and telecommunications thereby becoming less "*laissez faire"* and more "*favorisez vigoureusement".* Similarly, Dublin is the main focus of homelessness research to the detriment of research on the problem in the Republic's second largest city, Cork (Women's Aid, Ireland, 2000). As is the case with Leeds and Lyon, there has been a period of sustained economic growth in Cork, largely as a result of a growing tourist industry in recent years, although agriculture remains a key facet of the city's economic base. For these reasons, a decision was taken to depart from a capital city case study approach to add extra rigor to the analysis. More generally, capital cities are the epicentres of resource allocations, another factor which may distort the robustness of the analysis. Furthermore, London and Paris are *world* cities, not simply capitals of nation states. Such global factors may negatively impact on the rigor of the work.

But the case study approach does not come without a health warning. Russell (2000) counsels against drawing universal conclusions from case study evidence alone and strongly advises that all inferences need to be dealt with cautiously. Any subsequent application of research findings must therefore be moderated accordingly to accommodate the limitations of the case study approach. The individual context in which the case study is located is therefore

an opportunity as well as a constraint both of which become more accentuated within comparative housing research. No one city will ever replicate or represent the nation state and therefore research findings may only be viewed as indicative and partial. Nonetheless, the research for the thesis has allowed for a rich, detailed enquiry using the three regional cities and therefore demonstrates the value of such an approach within comparative housing research. On pragmatic level, the author of this thesis has a sound working knowledge of homelessness procedures in Leeds alongside extensive housing networks in the city. She is of Irish descent and has extensive professional contacts in the Republic of Ireland. She is also is a French speaker, has visited Lyon on a number of occasions and has widespread professional contacts in the homelessness profession in France.

2.10 Overview of Case Study Cities

The study focuses on the local government administrative boundary for each case study city.

Leeds

Leeds is a large metropolitan authority based in the West Yorkshire region of northern England with a population of 715, 404 (Office for National Statistics, 2009). The city covers 7,217 square miles (Leeds City Council, 2009b). Leeds city hosts a rich diversity of ethnic groups rising to 40 per cent in some inner city areas (Leeds City Council, 2009 ibid). Homeownership accounts for 61 per cent of total stock, well below the national average of 70 per cent. Local authority housing stock accounts for 19 per cent of all tenures, one per cent above the national average. Despite the substantial increase in housing association properties, the proportion of people living in social housing as a whole has decreased from 32 to 23 per cent since 1991. This decrease has been attributed to the impact of the right to buy as well as selected demolition of council stock (Leeds City Council 2009a). The City Council's Homelessness Strategy 2006 – 2010 suggests that the implementation of Choice Based Lettings in 2003 has been a contributory factor in increasing the time is takes for

a household to be rehoused by a total of 84 days when compared to 2001 (Leeds City Council, 2009b).

The proportion of private renting is also greater than the national average at 15 per cent compared to 11 per cent. Overall, homeownership has increased by 44 per cent since 1991, notably as a result of tenants exercising the right to buy (Leeds City Council, 2009a).

Table 4 provides summary data on housing tenure changes in Leeds 1991 – 2006:

Table 4: Housing Tenure in Leeds 1991 - 2006.			
	No	%	% increase or % decrease 1991 - 2006.
Local authority	60,316	18.8	-27.1
Registered social landlord	14,607	4.6	+ 50.1
All social housing	74,923	23.4	-19
Private rented	48,888	15.3	-
Home ownership	195,789	61.3	+43.8
All properties	319,600	100	

Adapted from Leeds City Council (2009).

The Leeds Housing Market Assessment exercise of 2006 demonstrated that a single income first time buyer would need a gross annual income of £37,000 to purchase a "starter" home. Yet the average income in Leeds at that time was reportedly just £22,000 (Leeds City Council, 2008). The local authority's housing stock is managed by three Arms Length Management Organisations (ALMOs). These are East North East Homes, Aire Valley Homes and West North West Homes Leeds. ALMOS are companies owned by the local authority but run as not for profit entities. A useful conceptualistaion of housing provision in Leeds is the "area model" developed by Leeds City Council which captures

the diversity and complexity of housing markets (both private and social) in the city (see Leeds City Council, 2009a). Of particular note are the distinct back to back terraces and the way in which the peripheral council estates are often characterised by low demand, high turnover, voids and studentification.

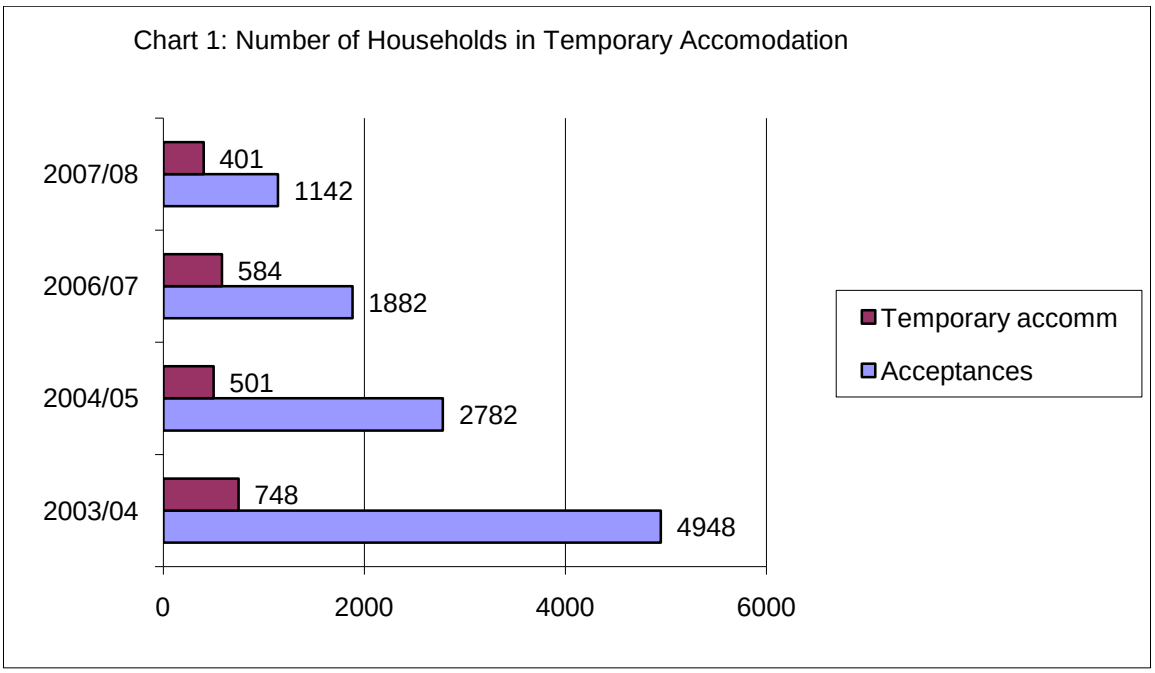
The city's former buoyant manufacturing and heavy industry base went into decline during the late 1970s and 1980s. Leeds economic fortunes began to change in the early 1990s. During the period 1991 – 2006, Leeds experienced a substantial boost in economic growth reflected by a sharp increase in jobs in the service industry, securing its position as the regional capital of West Yorkshire (Leeds City Council, 2009c). The property market played a key role is this process. Leeds has zealously implemented the urban renaissance agenda introduced by New Labour in 1997. As at November 2008, a total of 5,653 apartments were built but 15 per cent of these lie empty (Tunstall, 2008). Half of the void properties have been empty for over 12 months In addition, only two per cent of these properties are occupied by households with children have been built and as a result (Tunstall, 2008).

The Homelessness System in Leeds

Leeds City Council has a highly developed homelessness system. The local authority's Housing Options centre is normally the first port of call for people who are homeless or threatened with homelessness although people may apply to any part of the local authority they choose to make a homelessness application. Many voluntary sector projects in Leeds accept self referrals but assessments may also be made by the local authority to establish eligibility under the homelessness legislation. An assessment is made by local government officers (homelessness officers) of a person's eligibility for rehousing under the homelessness legislation (Housing Act 1996 Part 7 and Homelessness Act 2002). If the person is literally homeless or it is unreasonable for them to continue to occupy because of violence or another reason *and* s/he is priority need, the local authority must secure temporary accommodation pending enquiries. If there is no priority need, advice and

assistance must be provided. In both instances, an emphasis should be placed on the prevention of homelessness under the terms of the Homelessness Act 2002. In all cases, an authority needed to place the well being of the applicant at the forefront of all its activities. In particular, authorities must never refer an applicant back to their previous accommodation if there is a fear of violence.

The voluntary sector is frequently used to discharge the statutory function as well as providing specialist accommodation to homelesswomen such as the refuge accommodation provided by Women's Aid. Applicants are entitled to a written decision of the authority's investigation and if accepted, the applicant (and any other person who might reasonably reside with him/her) is put on a priority list through Leeds' Choice Based Lettings scheme. Statistics collated by Leeds City Council for the Communities and Local Government Department show that the numbers of homelessness acceptances has decreased by around three quarters since 2003/04. Further, the numbers of households in temporary accommodation has nearly halved during the same time period (see Chart 1):



Source: House of Commons (2009a).

Statistics were not available by household type to assess the extent whether there had an equivalent decrease of lone parents during this period. However, the main recorded cause of homelessness in Leeds is domestic violence caused by a partner (Leeds City Council, 2009b).

The Leeds Homelessness Strategy 2006 – 2010 provides a comprehensive account of the strategic context of homelessness in the city. Sound links are made with other keys strategies including community safety (relevant to domestic violence which is also the focus of Objective 3 of the strategy) and children and young people's strategy under the banner of the *"Every Child Matters"* initiative. The strategy also reports the need to secure further move on accommodation (private renting as well as social housing) for homeless households living in temporary accommodation so that hostels and refuge spaces may be liberated more quickly. But the interconnections between domestic violence, relationship breakdown, poverty and being the household type of a lone parent as being primary triggers for homelessness have yet to be explicitly recognised by the strategic content of homelessness policies in the

city. The challenge of effectively meeting the housing needs of homeless households will remain for the local authority and its partner agencies in the voluntary and statutory sectors in Leeds.

Cork

Cork is Ireland's second largest city (other than the capital Dublin) and has a population of 119,418 (Irish Census Records Online, 2009). The city is located on the coast in the south west region of the country. Agriculture and tourism both remain important to the city's economy but the software manufacturing and the pharmaceutical industry have emerged as sectors in the city (Cork County Development Board, 2009).

Although Cork has one of the highest proportions of social housing in Ireland as a whole, data in 2009 show how the city's social housing stock has decreased from 18 per cent to 16 per cent (Haaz, 2009). A further 18 per cent is privately rented with the remaining 63 per cent either owned outright or on a mortgage. Data were not available for the remaining three per cent (Cork City Council, 2009b). The average house price in Cork is 325,000 euros, some sixteen times more than the average income level of 20, 034 euros (CSO, 2009). Demand for social housing is very high. Figures from the last social housing needs assessment in 2008 suggested that some 2,864 households were in need of social housing (Finnernan, 2009).

As in the Leeds case study, overall housing supply in Cork has been underpinned by the city's urban renewal strategy. One critical development initiative is the promotion of the Cork Docklands area which is scheduled for further radical redevelopment in 2010. In addition to office and conference premises, the redevelopment is to include 6,000 new residential properties (mainly built to high density), a number of which will be social housing (Cork City Council, 2009c). The development plan includes housing for families involving new build and existing stock, unlike in the Leeds case study.

Homelessness System in Cork

People who are homeless or threatened with homelessness in Cork may either contact the City Council's Homelessness Persons Unit or contact voluntary sector projects directly. Three out of the four direct access hostels have direct links to Christian organisations (Simon Community, St Vincent de Paul and Good Shepherd). The Cuanlee project is the only women's refuge. It was established in 1979 and has no direct affiliation to religious organisation (Cuanlee Refuge, 2009). To date, existing policies do not recognise the relevance of domestic violence, relationship breakdown, poverty and being the household type of lone parent in alleviating homelessness amongst women in Cork.

Lyon

The city of Lyon is situated in the south west of France in the Rhône-Alpes region, France. Lyon's population is of 472,317 makes it France's second largest city (Lyon City Council, 2009).

A total of 20 per cent of all housing in Lyon is classified as social housing broadly reflecting housing stock at the national level (Dujardin and Geofette-Naggott, 2008). Some 16 per cent of the stock is private rented and the remaining 63 per cent owner occupied. Like Leeds, Lyon had a solid manufacturing base specialising in the silk industry but the city's manufacturing base is now based principally on financial services, pharmaceuticals and software manufacturing. Lyon has overtly supported social housing and is closely associated with the vigorous promotion of highrise tower block accommodation, particularly in the 1960s and 1970s. Like Leeds, the city has undertaken selected demolition of highrise housing to tackle low demand alongside a repair and maintenance programme.

Homelessness System in Lyon

Homeless accommodation in Lyon is provided exclusively by the voluntary sector. Although the *Loi DALO* (the enforceable right to housing) has recently been implemented, precise systems for promoting the right are yet to be determined. In the meantime, local authorities continue to enshrine rights under existing legislative provisions using the provisions of the *Loi Besson*. There are six specialist hostels for victims of domestic violence and a further five hostels for homelessness families, three of which are for lone parents only (Blanc, 2007).

Policies in Lyon do not examine the explicit links between domestic violence, relationship breakdown, poverty and being the household type of lone parent in alleviating homelessness amongst women in Lyon.

2.11 Research Techniques

Overall, a phenomenological approach was applied throughout the research to facilitate a detailed review of the reasons for homelessness amongst women in the three case study cities. In this sense, the author of the thesis engaged her experiences as someone who had a developed a deep awareness of women's homelessness as both a former housing practioner and as a housing academic. The author was also able to use her experience as an Irish national who has spent considerable time in France. These collective experiences have allowed for a unique insight in broad welfare approaches in the three case study countries.

The author of the thesis had spent a year in France before moving to England to study at university in 1984. She qualified as a youth worker in 1987 and worked with young people with learning disabilities on two deprived social housing estates in the market town of Loughborough, Leicestershire in the mid 1980s. She went on to work for Nottingham City Council as a housing manager then as a senior homelessness officer until 1991. What was clear during her period as a housing professional was than women and in particular lone parents were disproportionately represented amongst applicants who sought housing through the statutory homeless route (then Housing Act 1985 Part 3). These applicants were subsequently rehoused through the local authority's allocations process by virtue of priority grouping, preceded only by those applicants who were rehoused because of demolition or clearance and those applicants who had been awarded medical priority. It was clear that there were common triggers to homeless amongst the women who applied for emergency housing via the local authority. These triggers were domestic violence and relationship breakdown. In the vast majority of cases, the women who applied for emergency hostel, refuge or bed and breakfast accommodation were lone parents wholly dependent on state benefits. The author of the thesis then went on to complete a masters degree in housing studies at De Montfort University where she was introduced to the feminist writings of authors such as Gilroy and Woods (1994); Neal (1997); Watson and Austerberry (1988); Watson (1999)

and Brailey (1985). Of particular note is the work of Rose Gilroy (1994) whose pioneering work on women, housing and homelessness was nothing short of inspirational. It is quite possible that without Gilroy's work on gender, housing and homelessness, this thesis may well have not been written. The postgraduate programme of study also introduced the author of the work to comparative housing analysis, specifically the writings of Oxley (2001); Kemeny (1977; 1978a and 1978b; 1995).

Clearly, the professional experience of the author of the thesis did inform the study. But social scientists must be able to distance themselves sufficiently so that the view of the research respondent remains at the centre of the analysis and that rigor remains paramount (Robson, 2002). The research techniques used in the study (see below and section 2.18) sought to ensure that this distance was respected at key stages of the study. A triangulative approach was deployed in collating the primary data for this thesis during the period 2003 – 2007. Triangulation involves the multiple use of data collection instruments to promote further validity and rigor in the research process. Robson (2002) advocates the use of triangulation in social science based research, a view echoed by Bryman (2004). This fulfilled the dual need of promoting scope and rigor to the research (this is particularly pertinent to comparative housing studies given the macro nature of the analyses) and served to develop consensus, where possible and appropriate, with key definitions. To this end, mixed research methods were deployed using qualitative and quantitative techniques. Such mixed method research techniques have been described as the third methodological movement (Teddlie and Tashakkori, 2010). This holistic approach served to promote a more robust and authoritative analysis of two primary data sets, both of which formed the final analysis. The quantitative questionnaire captured the numerical rankings given by each respondent on the relative importance of specific phenomena directly pertinent to the research question, notably the relative importance of the four pathways to homelessness cited on page 28 of the thesis). This quantitative data was complemented by a rich and detailed set of homelessness professionals' perceptions of the variation

in risk posed to homeless women in the three case cities. (1979) advocates the use of such a holistic research approach and comments that: *"the use of multiple measures may also uncover some unique variance which otherwise may have been neglected by single methods. It is here that qualitative methods, in particular, can play an especially prominent role by eliciting data and suggesting conclusions to which other methods would be blind".*

Jick (1979), page 603 - 604.

The study involved four key stages. Firstly, a peer review exercise involved leading housing academics in England, France and Ireland was undertaken to support the development the theoretical context of the study. The verbal feedback provided by Rose Gilroy from Newcastle University following the first presentation of the thematic model used in this thesis to international peers at the European Network of Housing Researchers Conference in Vienna, July 2001, proved constructive in further refining the overall research approach. Beneficial feedback was also received from Professor Ann Orloff from Northwestern University on the first draft of the literature review. Comments from Jane Kettle at Leeds Metropolitan University proved helpful in refining the quantitative research questionnaire and in targeting specialist women's homelessness organisations in Leeds. The insight of Maryse Marpsat from the *Institut National de la Statistique et Des Etudes Economiques* (INSEE) in France was also invaluable in identifying women's homelessness organisations in France and assisting to clarify key terms of reference and definitions. Feedback from this team of domain experts was pivotal to refining the research focus and in turn informed the production of a topic guide for the semi-structured interviews and the production of the quantitative questionnaire. Appendix A contains a copy of the pilot topic guide constructed following this peer review. This facilitated more discerning, targeted reading around the topic and the subsequent production of a highly focused quantitative and qualitative interview schedule. Appendix B contains the thematic analysis ultimately used in the analysis of primary and secondary data. Following the peer review

exercise, the topic guide for the semi structured interviews became further refined and consolidated to form the basis of the semi-structured interviews with senior hostel and homelessness managers from the statutory sector (local authorities in councils in England and Ireland and the municipality in Lyon) and the voluntary (NGO) sectors. This is reproduced in Appendix C. Open codes were then assigned to primary qualitative data obtained from the semi-structured research interviews undertaken.

Secondly, work began to construct three databases comprising homelessness professionals working with homeless women in each case study city. A separate database was constructed for each city. The names and where possible of the relevant organisations were largely sourced through the internet and by telephone. European housing and homelessness organisations also played a valuable role in identifying suitable research respondents. Here, invaluable support was given by the European Network of Housing Researchers and FEANTSA. Preliminary details then recorded on the database for that country. The initial aim was to invite equal numbers of homelessness professionals from the statutory and voluntary sectors to participate. But it rapidly became clear that the homelessness "profession" itself meant different things in different countries. In the case of Leeds, the database was relatively easy to compile given that the author of this thesis had a sound working knowledge of homelessness systems in the city. In Cork, information on women's refuges was reasonably easy to find but this aspect of the study proved more challenging than initially anticipated as telephone calls were more likely to be screened using answer phones in Cork than in the other two cities. The construction of the database in Lyon was most challenging of all as little information on women's hostel provision was available in English. This was addressed by involving French research assistants for a short period at the early stage in the process who phoned the homelessness organisations in Lyon to introduce the study, to verify details and to check contact information. Each organisation was then invited to participate in the research and asked to suggest the name of the member of staff most equipped to answer the survey

questions. Homelessness professionals are not a homogenous group and the research respondents interviewed for this thesis reflect this diversity and the different overall homelessness systems of the three case study cities (see Appendices G, H and I for information on research respondents). Some hostel organisations nominated the manager of the organisation to participate. Others opted for the workers themselves. In the case of one women's hostel in Cork, a former resident who had become a refuge worker volunteered to represent the organisation in the study. This respondent provided a unique insight into the research and also prompted the researcher to reflect even more closely on the ethical issues which underpinned the study. It also served to demonstrate the extent to which homeless women themselves were keen to have a voice in the research, an approach which had been avoided due to perceived ethical constraints on the part of the researcher (see section 2.8). Moreover, all the homelessness professionals engaged freely and in many cases very zealously with the study. The initial overwhelmingly positive response to the study and the high levels of respondent engagement in all three cities suggests an appetite for research on women's pathways to homelessness in different countries a*mongst homelessness practioners themselves* and a recognition that the phenomenon was at last being documented by an academic, a further endorsement of this thesis. Might there by the same appetite for such research amongst homeless women themselves?

Thirdly, at the same time the databases were being completed, the topic guide for the semi-structured interviews was piloted with two interviewees in Leeds. Leeds was chosen for convenience and expediency of the pilot. Some revisions were made to the terminology in the questionnaire and structure of the first set of open questions following the Leeds pilot.

Fourthly, following the pilot involving the two interview respondents, the themes and twelve sub themes were subsequently incorporated into largely quantitative questionnaires but also contained a qualitative element. These questionnaires were sent to the homelessness professionals on the databases in three countries. A total of 50 questionnaires were sent to respondents and 45 were

returned giving a response rate of 90 per cent. This high level of engagement with the research for the thesis reflects the high motivation of respondents to make their voices heard. The final version of the questionnaire used a number of different question types to promote maximum respondent engagement including the use of the Likert scale; semantic differential whereby themes directly reflected previous research on women's homelessness where incorporated. A number of open ended qualitative responses were also included comprising around a tenth of the questionnaire as a whole. A total of 87 questions for each case study city were analysed, amounting to 690 independent variables per city. Frequency and cross tabulation analysis of all variables was undertaken with SPSS. To ensure clarity and focus of the critique, only the variables which directly related to the thesis research question and accompanying objectives were selected for inclusion the thesis. Analysis of the remaining variables did provided a rich and accessible data set on key contextual themes pertinent to the research. For example, respondents' general perceptions of homelessness (section 1 of the questionnaire) provided unique insight the nature and adequacy of temporary accommodation for both men and women in the three case study cities. Differences in perception between homelessness services for men and women as identified by the respondents were also reviewed as part of the preliminary research undertaken for this thesis. However, it was felt that inclusion of this data would compromise the focus of the thesis. When findings from analysis of the quantitative data are reproduced in the thesis, these are readily identifiable by the use of N = 45 in the panels.

Appendix D contains the English version of the questionnaire and Appendices E and F contain the Irish and French equivalents respectively. Detailed changes were made to the questionnaires used for specific countries to reflect that country's approach to housing and homelessness. For example, in Lyon the relevant legislation for homeless households is the *Loi Besson*; the English equivalent is the Housing Act 1996 Part 7 and in Ireland, the relevant statute is Housing Act 1988. Local authorities in England are largely responsible for the

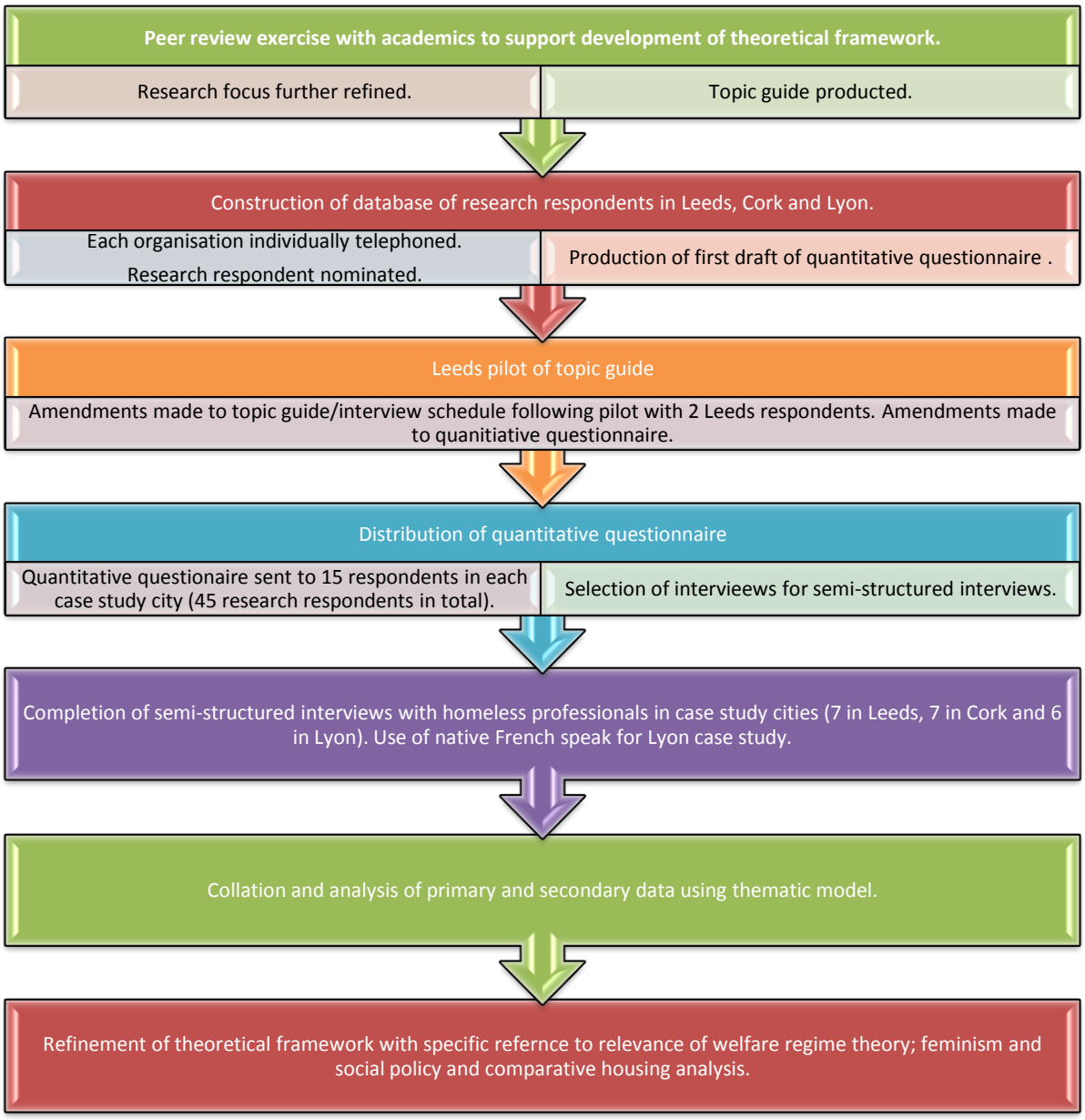
discharge of homeless function, but in the Republic of Ireland, health boards are the lead statutory agency. The questionnaire was then sent to each respondent either in hard copy form with a pre-paid envelope or electronically via email. A deadline of four weeks from the date of initial telephone call was given. In some three quarters of cases, the questionnaires were returned without further intervention from the researcher. In the remaining cases, a telephone call was made the week after the deadline to prompt respondents to engageith the study. Two of the Leeds respondents reported that they considered the questionnaire to lengthy but it was returned nonetheless. A number of the organisations also posted copies of relevant homelessness documents such as organisation's annual report or leaflets which provided useful additional secondary data. In total, 45 respondents took part in this stage of the study, 15 from each case study city. These 45 respondents were then asked whether they would like to participate in the semi-structured interviews which followed. As a result, seven took part from Leeds, a further seven from Cork and six from Lyon.

Fifthly, the twenty research interviews were undertaken across the three case study cities. All interviews were undertaken in person The French semi-structured interviews were undertaken in Lyon by native French speakers to enhance the rigor and legitimacy of the findings. The author of the thesis was present during the Lyon interviews but other than being introduced to the research respondent and the manager of the hostel or refuge, she did not engage with the interviews.

A central concern was to ensure that the volume and quality of data gathered for Cork and Lyon (the latter particularly given linguistic constraints) matched that of Leeds. The use of native French speakers sought to address this point. But the fact that the Lyon interviews were carried out not by the researcher herself but by a third party has prompted some interesting questions on the value of the ability to probe in semi-structured interviews. Additional primary data was obtained by using probing techniques during the Leeds and Cork

interviews but observations of and discussions with the Lyon interviewer revealed that the use of probing was very limited. It is therefore useful to reflect on the value of using a homelessness specialist with experience of social science interviews in completing any further research on women's homelessness in another country where the ability to speak the language may alter the nature of the *data corpus* (although not necessarily negatively). This prompts further epistemological considerations on how knowledge is perceived in different countries and the implications for methodology (Swandt, 2000).

Figure 3: Summary of Research Techniques.



Chapter Two has summarised the research methodology, the research process and the research techniques involved in this comparative evaluation of women's homelessness in England, Ireland and France. The benefits and limitations of using an instrumental case study approach have also been outlined alongside key ethical issues and the nature of homelessness system in the case study cities.

Chapter Two has highlighted how the complexities of this analysis were addressed by balancing national uniqueness (thereby embracing particularism) alongside research which places universalism (thereby promoting universality of findings as readily interchangeable between countries) as its central focus. This was achieved by: engaging early peer when the study was being developed; having a pilot of the interview schedule; developing and applying the homelessness system model; the use of a detailed quantitative questionnaire and the use of semi-structured interviews which involved the recruitment of native French speakers to support the Lyon case study.

The next chapter of the thesis, Chapter Three, focuses on welfare policy and in particular welfare regimes. Chapter Three provides a feminist reconstruction of Esping - Andersen's welfare typology and shows how the four primary triggers (domestic violence; relationship breakdown; poverty as a result of benefit dependency and lone parenthood) relate to welfare typologies in the three countries.

CHAPTER THREE: WELFARE REGIMES IN HOUSING AND HOMELESSNESS: A FEMINIST REVIEW

3.1 Summary

Prevailing approaches to welfare fundamentally impact on the level and nature of social protection made available to vulnerable groups such as homeless women. The models of welfare as defined by Esping-Andersen in each case study country vary significantly. In liberalist England, an enforceable right to housing for homeless groups such as women who fleeing a violent partner, are pregnant or have children place a statutory duty on local authorities to provide emergency housing and support services in both the voluntary and statutory sector, a duty which often extends to the provision of longer term accommodation. Allocation of social housing system in England is based on notions of need defined by statute (principally Housing Act 1996 Part 6) In France, labelled conservative corporatist by Esping-Andersen, social cohesion has historically dominated but more recently, a liberalist housing rights agenda has begun to pervade this typology with the advent of the *Loi DALO,* an enforceable right to housing, the first tranche of which was implemented in December 2008. Voluntary sector projects are the main sector which provides accommodation to homeless women in France and entitlement to social housing in France is means tested unlike its English and Irish counterparts. In Ireland, also classed as conservative corporatist by Esping-Andersen, the welfare approach remains largely primitive relative to the other two countries with no explicit enforceable right to housing. Health boards lead in the provision of homelessness services, frequently in partnership with the voluntary sector. Welfare typologies therefore provide a useful framework in assessing and reviewing a country's approach to homelessness but also give a valuable insight into the extent to which these regimes may be both enabling for homeless women. They may be seen as enabling by providing varying degrees of protection for lone families. But equally welfare typologies may equally be regarded as disabling given that they run the risk of reinforcing welfare dependency, spatial inequalities through reliance on the social housing sector

and prescriptive routes out of homelessness promoted by the statutory and voluntary sectors.

Chapter Three begins by defining the notion of welfare regimes and continues by deconstructing dominant welfare regime theory from a feminist perspective. The dominant characteristics of welfare typologies in England, Ireland and France, particularly the misguided emphasis on paid employment to the detriment of unpaid labour provided by lone parents notably through the provision of childcare, is also highlighted. The superficiality of the dichotomy between the state and the market, frequently a characteristic of welfare regime theory, is also reviewed. The way in which dominant welfare typologies contribute to variations of the male breadwinner model in the three countries is then outlined and linked to a feminist review of modern risk societies within the context of women's homelessness. Chapter Three also demonstrates how the four primary triggers to homelessness in women (domestic violence; relationship breakdown; poverty as a result of benefit dependency and lone parenthood) are relevant to welfare regimes in the three countries. Primary data is interwoven into the narrative of Chapter Three to demonstrate the similarities and differences between the three case study countries.

3.2 Welfare Theory and Welfare Regimes

This study demonstrated the value of using welfare regimes in providing a theoretical framework from which the comparative analysis of homelessness systems from a feminist perspective. But in doing so, the thesis highlights substantial deficits in welfare regime theory when women are placed at the centre of the analysis.

Welfare regimes are understood to mean a specific set of characteristics which promote and perpetuate a given welfare approach at the nation state level. A country's dominant welfare regime in turn determines the nature of welfare intervention in the case of key areas of social protection such as housing, health and education. Welfare regime theory is therefore relevant to homelessness.

The relevance of debates surrounding structure and agency is more comprehensively reviewed in section 3.8 but it is appropriate to make the link with welfare regimes more explicit here. Taylor-Gooby's definition is particularly useful in capturing the dynamics of structure and agency inherent in welfare regimes:

"A (welfare) *regime is understood as a particular constellation of social and political and economic arrangements which tend to nurture a particular welfare system, which in turn supports a particular pattern of stratification and thus feeds back into its own stability".*

Taylor - Gooby (1996), page 200.

Prevailing welfare regimes fundamentally impact on housing policies in different countries. In respect of groups such as women who experience socioeconomic disadvantage, these dominant welfare regimes are fundamental in shaping welfare policies. In doing so, welfare regimes:

1. Provide an overarching, peer reviewed framework from which comparative housing analysis, in this case a feminist review of women's principal pathways to homelessness in the three case study countries and cities may be taken.

2. Allow for a systematic, critical review of the relevance of both market engagement and decommodification within the context of the homelessness systems of each case study city. This promotes an assessment of the extent to which prevailing regimes reinforce patriarchal structures which may negatively impact on women's housing options at the point of housing crisis. The importance of paid employment to the detriment of other sources of income such as maternity allowances, family or child benefits within welfare regimes is relevant in this respect.

3. Facilitate the inclusion of the voluntary (non-government) sector into the typology of welfare regimes given homeless women's use of this sector albeit to differing degrees and for different reasons in the three countries. This sector is highly relevant in reflecting the deficit left by the state and is therefore particularly relevant in developing an alternative feminist critique of welfare regimes given homeless women's reliance on voluntary sector hostels and refuges in all three countries.

The thesis drew extensively from the writings of Danish sociologist Gøsta Esping Andersen (1990; 1999; 2006) in the construction of this feminist review of welfare regimes. In doing so, the thesis systematically documents the limitations of the typology. According to Esping-Andersen, a welfare regime is *"the combined, interdependent way in which welfare is produced and allocated between state, market and family."*

(Esping-Andersen, 1999), page 34.

Esping-Andersen's work was heavily influenced by other writers, notably Richard Titmuss who in 1974 proposed three contrasting models of social policy. These models of welfare, he suggested, are discernible by the extent to which they embody different principles related to the role of the state in respect of social protection measures. According to Titmuss' typology (1974), the three models are: the *institutionalist* model; the *handmaiden* model and the *residual* model. According to the institutionalist model, services are provided universally and social services are regarded as an integrated institution in society. The Scandanavian countries fall into this category. Under the handmaiden model, social services are conspicuously appended to other institutions so social needs are met on the basis of merit, work performance and productivity. France's and Ireland's welfare approaches serve as examples of broad handmaiden typologies, France in particular. In the third model, the residual model, social services act as a safety net for those for whom the market and social networks,

namely family and friends, are unable to provide. England is an example of the residual model.

Despite the fact that Esping-Andersen's work remains influential in the field of comparative analysis, it has, not surprisingly, attracted criticism from a range of commentators. Kemeny (1995) is arguably the most vocal of these and points to the fundamental absence of any discourse around power in Esping-Andersen's "*The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism"* and suggests that *"in the wake of Esping-Andersen, the first task must be to re-integrate the study of comparative social policy with the debates over theories of power. This will require a closer integration of comparative studies of social policy with issues that are central to the disciplines of political science and sociology. This will in turn lead to a welcome deepening of the conceptual and theoretical dimension of social policy."*

(Kemeny, 1995, page 17).

Women's ability to mitigate the threat of homelessness at the nation state level is determined by a range of interrelated factors. These include:

- The existence of institutions such as family and other networks, state sponsored measures and voluntary sector provision in supporting women at a the point of housing crisis. This demonstrates the importance of institutional risk in evaluating women's pathways to homelessness within the comparative context. More specifically, social protection measures in countries such as Ireland and France which are viewed by Esping-Andersen as adhering to the conservative corporate model place conventional models of the family more centrally as part of broader social protection measures. This places a greater value on women's caring role than in liberalist regimes such as England's where measures in effect seek to subcontract out these caring responsibilities role by other means (notably though childcare provided outside the bounds of the family) to promote paid employment and more recently, as part of the

worklessness agenda. In the case of England, the provision of state sponsored childcare provision aims to enable women to engage in paid labour market engagement with varying degrees of success (see Smith *et al's* 2009 review of childcare projects in the North East of England which points to the need for more gender sensitive projects). Another example from England of this contracting out of care responsibilities is the promotion of residential accommodation for the elderly to replace the caring role traditionally provided by children to parents (see Hagstead and Herlofson's (2007) useful review of the intergenerational nature of welfare regimes).

- The relative importance of income and therefore notions of paid and unpaid employment, in acquiring and sustaining alternative accommodation, relative to an emphasis on market or state based solutions to homelessness. Women and in particular lone parents are over represented in groups which experience poverty frequently as a result of being dependent on state benefits or being concentrated in poorly paid and/or part time jobs, often without pension rights.

- The presence of social protection measures such as homelessness legislation and maternity benefits or family benefits in promoting housing choices for homeless or potentially homeless groups. This is particularly pertinent to lone parents who are disproportionately reliant on homelessness services in an effort to secure accommodation in all three of the case study countries of England, Ireland and France.

Analysis of the 45 quantitative questionnaires (15 in each case study city) has revealed the extent to which the presence of children and/or being pregnant was consistently perceived by the homelessness professionals interviewed as a "passport" to welfare services in *all three case study cities*. This was consistently reported by respondents regardless of whether they were worked in the voluntary or statutory sector and regardless of whether there was an enforceable right to housing as a homeless household in the three countries.

One source suggests that liberal welfare regimes, such as that of England's, produce high levels of poverty, unemployment and have higher levels of homelessness (Fitzwilliam, 2005). Further consideration is needed to assess the extent to which this assertion applies to *recorded* levels of homelessness at the nation state level such as those captured by the statutory homelessness statistics compiled by Communities and Local Government in England or whether it relates to perceived levels of homelessness. But what is clear is that women and in particular lone parents, faced considerable challenges when seeking to acquire and sustain accommodation within welfare regimes whereby the ability to engage in paid employment is a key determinant in housing outcomes (Marpsat, 2006a and 2006b; Mc Carthy, 2008; Morley *et al* 2007). Having a job is not enough in its own right. The nature of women's employment is also relevant. The writing of Cashborne (2000) characterises the contribution of women within specific, poorly paid, transient employment sectors as part of disorganised capitalism and suggests that England's economy generally regards women's income as secondary to that of men's. Paid remuneration in exchange for labour has therefore become increasingly important in securing housing in countries where liberalist ideologies prevail.

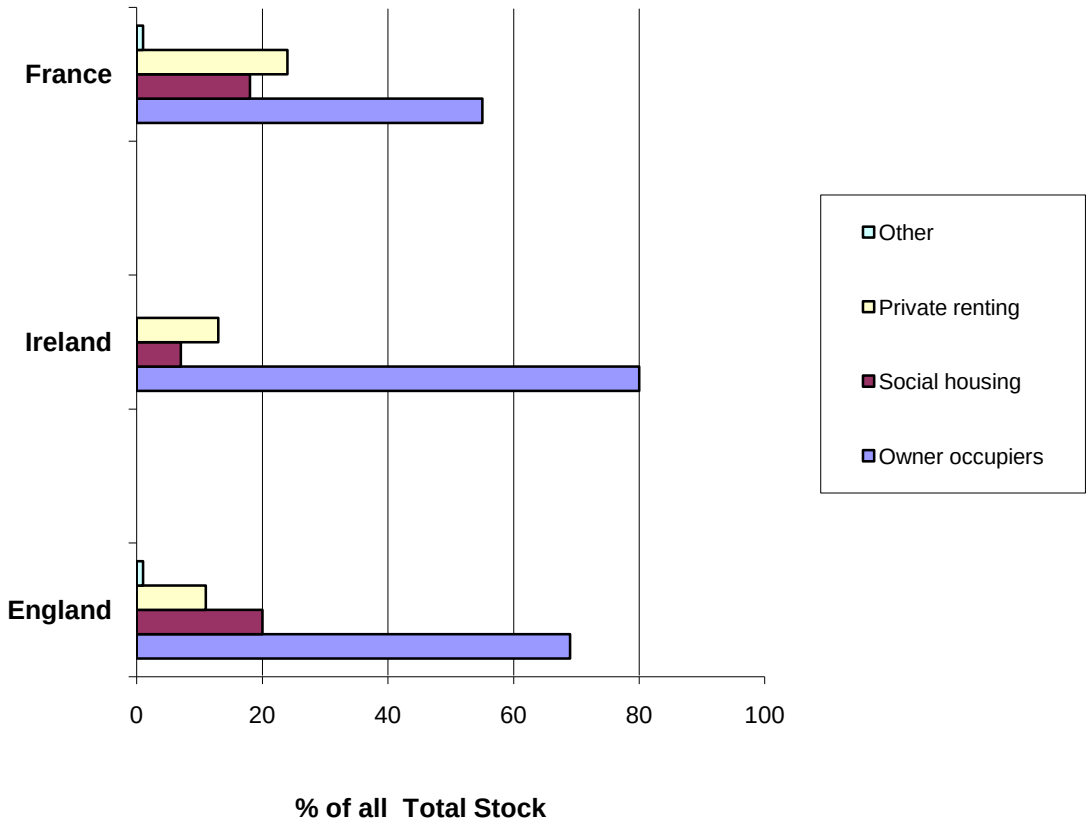
Comparable data on housing tenure for the three case study cities was not available as data sources focused on UK rather than English as a discrete category. However, there is a consensus regarding the proportion of broad housing tenure in each country. Data compiled by Dol and Haffner's (2010) shows that whilst 20 per cent of households in England live in social housing, the equivalent figures from Ireland and France are 8 and 17 per cent respectively. Dol and Haffner's data analysis also shows variation non-state sponsored housing. For example, a total of 23 per cent of households in France live in private rents, this applies to 12 per cent in Ireland and just 10 per cent in England. Homeownership is the tenure most commonly found in all three countries (80 per cent in Ireland, 70 per cent in England and 60 per cent in France). These figures are validated by CECODHAS 's (2007) data represented by Chart 2.

Private housing markets in England and most obviously the owner occupied housing sectors have traditionally favoured dual earning households. This policy emphasis is not confined to England. Power (1993) highlights the way in which social housing provision has become residualised in France and that women excluded from housing choices provided by the market (privately rented accommodation as well as owner occupation) are over represented in accommodation provided by *habitiations a loyer modereés* (the approximate equivalent of the housing association movement in France). O'Sullivan (2004) in respect of the Republic of Ireland highlights the dominance of owner occupation as a principal tenure group to the detriment of the social housing sector. The evidence overall points to a promotion of private market solutions to broad housing need but an endemic reliance on social housing for many women and particularly single parent families.

Despite the promotion of social housing by local authorities and housing associations, England has a largely liberalist driven approach to housing provision. Labour market engagement is frequently a prerequisite in acquiring and sustaining private (namely owner occupied or privately rented) accommodation with the social housing sector as a safety net. Moreover, controversial proposals take the debate one step further by suggesting that social housing, in particular local authority properties, are spring board tenures to owner occupation (Chartered Institute of Housing, 2008; Hills, 2006) In England, France and Ireland, the social housing sector generally caters for those for whom private accommodation is inaccessible, either because it is prohibitively expensive or for other reasons (such as the provision of additional support provided by families networks or agencies). But crucially the relative emphasis of income as a determinant of social housing eligibility varies from country to country. Although England and France have approximately the same proportion of social housing, currently around 20 per cent of total stock (although clearly definitions of social housing differ) social housing in France is means tested. Ireland has the smallest proportion of social housing of all three countries at just 9 per cent and the highest level of homeownership (80 per

cent). In addition, France has more buoyant levels of private rented housing (20 per cent compared to just 11 per cent in England) thereby offering potentially a more flexible housing system to capture those households who may need to move at short notice thereby reducing reliance on homeownership at the nation state level. Also see National Board of House Building and Planning, Sweden and Ministry for Regional Development of the Czech Republic (2004) for summary data on housing tenure in the three case study countries for the period 1990 - 2000. Data on the housing tenure of the three countries using data published by CECODHAS is summarised in Chart 2:

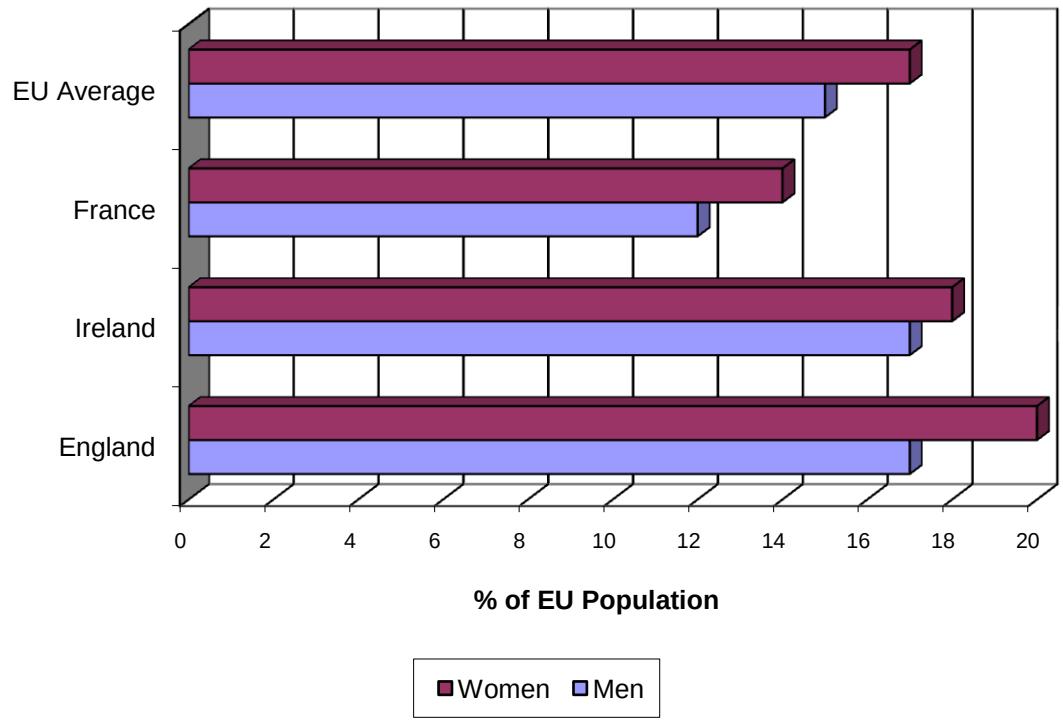
Chart 2: Housing Tenure in England, Ireland and France
% of Total Stock.



Adapted from: CECODHAS (2007).

The existence of an enforceable right to housing also varies from country to country. Liberalist England has an explicit right to housing through its homelessness provisions, notably Housing Act 1996 Part 7 and the Homelessness Act 2002, which place a statutory duty on local housing authorities to provide emergency and frequently permanent accommodation to certain group who fall under the legislative provisions. But there is no explicit right to housing for homeless groups Ireland (the Housing Act 1988 is the closest equivalent but these provisions are weak and nonspecific relative to England's homelessness legislation). No explicit rights existed in France until December 2008 when the first phase of *Loi DALO* was introduced. The precise mechanisms for implementation of the *Loi DALO* have yet to be determined (see section 4.4). But the net result of the introduction of homelessness legislation in England in 1977 has been increasingly spatial inequality in social housing whereby lone parents are disproportionately reliant on the homeless route in an effort to secure accommodation (CLG, 2009b; 2009c).

Chart 3: Groups Defined as Living Poverty in England, Ireland and France by Gender as a % of the Population



Adapted from: European Union Statistics for Poverty and Income (2008).

The thesis did not aim to explicitly explore alternative political perspectives and their implications for women and welfare. However, it is clearly worthwhile pointing to the intrinsic value of Marxist feminism which points to the way in which patriarchal structures embody an institutional acquiescence which conspire to keep women in a subordinate position to men. More importantly, the promotion of capital wealth by (principally) men depends on this continued subordination. Here, materialism represented through the accumulation of wealth by property ownership, forms the basis of institutions and structures in society where men are the ruling classes as they pursue the accumulation of further capital wealth. This dominance of men over women is dependent on the continued subordination of women as carers by providing unpaid labour in sustaining the notion of the family, the maintenance of which both government

and male institutions have a vested economic and social interest (see Williams (1989); Neal (1997).

3.3 The Relevance of Welfare Regimes

England's liberalist regime embodies the fragile breadwinner model given women's increased participation in labour market engagement. However, in reality, the male breadwinner model remains strongly represented in England reflecting the formation of the welfare state in England after Second World War and therefore reinforcing gender stereotypes.

Focus on the promotion of liberalist rights through Thatcher's free market feminism and by New Labour has led to disproportionate reliance on private market solutions to address socioeconomic problems. The drive to market solutions did not attracting corresponding increase in essential sources of social protection such as maternity benefits, childcare provision and family benefits. Policies were largely child (not parent) focused thus obscuring the needs of single parents, the majority of whom have female head of household. There is an explicit right to housing for homeless groups through the Housing Act 1996 Part 7, a right which was first enshrined through the Homelessness Persons Act 1977. The statutory duty has meant that comprehensive, robust data on homeless women is maintained in England. Lone parents with a female head of household fully dependent on state benefits are the main recipients of local authority homelessness services (CLG, 2009c). The advancement of homeless rights for lone parents and single women who are pregnant, fleeing domestic violence or who are defined as being in another priority need group, has proved to be a double edged sword in England. On the one hand, high levels of awareness exist as regards exercising rights in meeting immediate short term housing needs. On the other, resources are rigidly focused on meeting the minimal statutory duty, to the detriment of strategies to prevent homelessness, despite the duty to do so which introduced by the Homelessness Act 2002. One of the local authority respondents in Leeds who participated in the semi-structured interviews suggested that the prescriptive nature of the legislative

system has in fact fettered local authorities' discretion and forces homeless women down a certain route:

“If you are in a position of acute housing need, you become as resourceful as you can. We can all become resourceful when we need to. The problem with the legislation is that it doesn’t actually help us to do what the government wants us to do which is prevent homelessness…all the time you have this legislation which is forcing women down a certain route”.

Strategic Housing Business Manager, female, local housing authority.

The Republic of Ireland’s welfare regime is classified by Esping-Andersen as conservative corporatist but has arguably become incrementally liberalist since advent of Celtic Tiger economy from the early 1990s to around 2008nwith a corresponding increase in land and house prices. But in 2010, the Irish banking system collapsed resulting in a substantial oversupply of new build residential and commercial estates properties. By mid 2010, reports of so-called "ghost estates" were beginning to emerge where new build properties were unoccupied. One source suggests that over 600 such estates had been identified by January 2010 (Kenna, 2010). Recent proposals have involved the acquisition of these vacant properties by local authorities as part of their mainstream housing stock particularly in urban areas where demands remains high (Kitchin, 2010). Whilst this has resulted in an overall net increase of dwellings available to Ireland's social housing stock, it has also meant that public sector landlords have been compelled to repay private developer loans (Kenna, 2010). Schemes to support owner occupation, such as the "incremental ownership" initiative introduced in 2010 will serve to further bolster Ireland commitment to owner occupation in a country where 80 per cent of all stock is owned outright or on a mortgage (Kenna, ibid).

Despite Ireland's rapid economic growth during the 1990s and the first part of twenty first century, a conservative corporate welfare heritage continues to

dominate. As O'Sullivan (2008) noted: *"the approach rooted in Ireland is not rooted in a legalistic approach but rather on a consensual or negotiated problem solving approach.*

(O Sullivan, 2008, page 1).

Ireland remains a predominantly Catholic country with around 76 per cent of the population defined as Catholic (Catholic Hierarchy, 2009). The influence of Catholic morality has had a significant impact on the character of Ireland's welfare regime to the extent that other commentators have gone as far as categorising the country's welfare typology as being more aligned to Catholic corporatism given that the Catholicism predated the formation Irish welfare state (Cochrane *et al*, 2001). Peillon (1992) writing in the period before Irish economic fortunes began to improve highlighted the way in which the institution of Catholicism may act as force which is independent of the state but which retains control on voluntary sector services to reinforce reproductive, social and welfare obligations:

"In defending the family unit and independence of voluntary organisations, the Church was seeking to consolidate its own authority and influence. By means of voluntary organisations, the Church can dominate such spheres of activity such as health and social services. Furthermore, it is in a position to exercise greater control on a family which has not been integrated into a state control welfare controlled framework and therefore dependent on the state."

(Peillon, 1982, page 5).

Although its influence has diminished in recent decades as Ireland social protection measures have become more rigorous and the country has become more ethnically diverse, the morality of the Catholic Church remains a dominant force in government policy (Gallaghan and Ryan, 2001). In contemporary Ireland, the enduring motif of Catholicism is reproduced through the emergence of the social partnership model which broadly reflect England's Local Strategic

Partnerships but with substantially less legislative authority and much less defined strategic objectives. Social partnerships are institutional arrangements between government, employers, trade unions and NGOs and have been a discerning characteristic of Ireland approach to social and economic policy in recent years (O Sullivan *ibid*). The survival of social partnership approach depends on a shared understanding of developing solutions to social problems resulting in a potentially collusive, self serving culture. The implementation of Ireland's social partnership model in respect of homelessness policy for women in Ireland poses fundamental questions as regards the relative roles of the family and the welfare state where social partnership objectives may be influenced by strong institutional forces which have a vested interest in maintaining the status quo in the form of the normative model of the family. The Catholic Church is one such institution and continues to pervade directly providing hostel accommodation through it management structures.

Moreover, marriage is still regarded as a *"*sacrament*"* by the Catholic Church and divorce was only recognised by law as recently as 1996, a further factor which perpetuates conventional notions of the family. The impact of Catholicism is reflected in family welfare policy in Ireland which stresses the traditional role and composition of the family as comprising a married couple supported by a strong male breadwinner model. Social insurance payments exclude female household members, notably mothers of dependent children who are not engaged in paid employment. Prominent roles for institutions such as the church and the family are reflected in voluntary sector hostel provision where organisations' origins may frequently be linked back to the church. Abortion remains unlawful in Ireland unless the continued pregnancy is life threatening to the woman. The *"deserted wife's social welfare payment"* was available to mothers only (significantly not to fathers) until 1997 although this is now called the *"one parent family benefit"*. Ireland's unprecedented economic growth in the early 1990s demonstrates the country's commitment to unfettered capitalism and the traditional liberalist values of the free market. Yet the welfare system did not flourish in the same way. The surge of the Celtic Tiger economy may

have resulted in a substantial boost to service industries in Ireland but these industries require workers to sustain them and in the case of Ireland, these workers are predominantly women. The National Women's Council for Ireland's submission to the Irish government following the publication of the national anti-poverty strategy of 2001 explicitly shows the enduring ideological link between the position of women, welfare and the patriarchal structures which reinforce women's role in sustaining capitalist systems of reproduction:

"The underlying assumptions of the Irish social welfare system are based on patriarchal values concerning the role of women and men in society regarding work, family and domestic responsibilities. This model of social welfare is referred to as the male breadwinner model as it emphasises the male role as the breadwinner and the women's role as homemakers i.e. wives, mothers and daughters. The rights of women are derived from the rights and entitlements of men. The construct of the system is therefore based on the concept of gender inequality and this is reinforced through a range of polices to consolidate the male role as the breadwinner and women's role as economical dependants."

(National Women's Council For Ireland, 2001, page 2).

There is no explicit right to housing for homeless groups in Ireland. The closest equivalent is the Housing Act 1988 which affords powers (crucially not duties) to local housing authorities to work with health authorities in providing emergency assistance to homeless households. Rather than focusing on explicitly reforming housing policy, Ireland has opted for a more generic antipoverty approach to homelessness, drawling largely from its long standing involvement with the European Union since the 1970s. Given the lack of a statutory duty towards homeless groups in general, data on women's homelessness is very limited indeed. In addition, the voluntary sector, a key provider of accommodation for women in Ireland, is frequently influenced by religious organisations which, in turn, reinforces the dominant welfare typology of conservative corporatism. Despite the advent of the Celtic Tiger economy in the

mid 1990s, the research undertaken for this thesis has demonstrated the extent to which Ireland is viewed as a primitive welfare state where homelessness caused by marital breakdown is still viewed judgementally. As one Cork **respondent noted who participated in the semi-structured interview said:**

"Ireland may have changed a lot in the last few years – in some ways, it's barely recognisable as a country – there's so many different ethnic groups here now. But in others ways, it's still stuck in the dark ages. If you've a failed marriage behind you, society will frown upon you. Things like that keep us far behind England in terms of progress on homelessness law".

House Supervisor, hostel, male, NGO, voluntary sector.

France was classified as having the hallmarks of conservative corporatism by Esping-Andersen but differs significantly from the Ireland example when viewed through the lens of women's homelessness. The quest for equality on the grounds of gender has a long standing legacy in France. Article 1 of the French constitution calls for the equality of all citizens. O'Hanlon (2003) argues that this constitutional commitment is positively reflected in the country's overall approach to issues such as domestic violence which disproportionately impact on women (O' Hanlon, 2003). France and Ireland have similar levels of the population defined as Catholic (some 72 per cent according to the Catholic Hierarchy, 2009). But France's inclusion of solidarity and social insertion makes for a very different overall regime which embodies common action, mutual responsibility and shared risk. The thesis shows how French welfare policies are broadly aimed at maintaining social cohesion rather than addressing inequalities. Yet, at the same time, family welfare policy continues to stress the traditional role and composition of the family. The presence of children allows for the engagement of welfare services. As one of the homelessness managers in Lyon who participated in the semi-structured interviews: put it:

« La présence des enfants amene des ressources et aussi des mesures de protection… Les femmes avec les enfants sont offert plus de protection. ».

« The presence of children means resources and is also a measure of protection. Women with children are offered the most protection".

Refuge Manager, female, of voluntary sector hostel for single women and women with children.

Crucially, there is longstanding support for the notion of motherhood in France through the implementation of policies knows collectively as *la natalité.* The collective *régime général* for health and security epitomises this notion of solidarity through *la natalité*. As French welfare entitlement is stratified through an earnings related social security system, paid employment is a key fact in determining entitlement to welfare benefits. The research for this thesis has demonstrated the way in which the dominance of a broad social cohesion agenda has impacted on a perception amongst French homeless professionals that a more strategic, holistic approach focusing on promoting employability for women is required to address homelessness thus reinforcing this broad welfare typology. The importance of paid employment in supporting and subsequently determining welfare services was also captured by the research. Yet the study has also shown a policy deficit between the ideal of social cohesion achieved through service integration and the reality of housing exclusion. As one of the semi-structured interviewees (a local municipality employee) in Lyon put it:

« Une mesure isolée n'a pas de sens. Il faut tout faire à la fois : atténuer la crise du logement et celle du logement social, renforcer les capacités d'accueil de tous les dispositifs intermédiaires entre l'hébergement d'urgence et le logement normal , y compris les moyens humains en bénévoles et en salariés pour l'accompagnement, faire baisser le nombre de personnes qui perdent leur logement en soutenant ceux qui ne peuvent plus paye ».,

"An isolated measure makes no sense. Everything must be done at once: tackle the housing crisis and the social housing crisis, reinforce the support capacities of all the areas between emergency housing and normal housing, including the

staffing in volunteers and paid, lower the number of people who lose their housing and support those who can no longer pay".

Manager, male, single parent hostel, municipality of Lyon.

But this may change as the *Loi DALO* 2008, France's first enforceable right to housing, becomes further embedded in the French homelessness system. At the time of writing (January 2010), structures to support the new law's implementation remain far from clear but as the voluntary sector leads in accommodation provision in France, it seem likely that this sector will take the lead in providing emergency accommodation given that French municipalities do not provide hostels. Like its Irish counterpart, Catholicism remains a strong influence in France but its impact on the model of the family in France has been moderated by approaches which promote solidarity and *la natalité.* As a result, the role of Catholic Church in welfare provision is much more marginalized relative to the Irish example.

These structural factors play a critical role in shaping a country's welfare typology. The value of welfare classifications becomes even more apparent considered in respect of public (social or public) and private (home ownership or private renting) housing options at the nation state level. A crucial contention of Esping-Andersen's thesis (1990; 1999; 2006) is that inextricable relationships exist between *decommodification* (the extent to which social policy renders individuals effectively independent of the market) and *social stratification* and *employment* (the way in which a welfare state confers status given by the labour market). Of particular interest in the housing context is the notion of decommodification defined by Esping-Andersen himself as the *"extent to which individuals and families can uphold a socially acceptable standard of living independent of market participation."*

(Esping - Andersen, 1990, page 37).

Using empirical reference points in the form of welfare indicators including pension rights, poverty and unemployment levels and educational attainment levels, Esping-Andersen sought to demonstrate that welfare state stratifications cluster to form three discernible regimes: the liberal welfare state model (England and arguably Ireland latterly with the advent of the Celtic Tiger economy in the early 1990s but retaining substantial elements of conservative corporatism), the conservative-corporatist model (again Ireland and France) and the socio-democratic regime (the Scandanavian countries). The classification contains a misguided assumption that national welfare states have singular, unadulterated identities even though it is clear that different countries straddle different welfare typologies. Ireland is a good example of this need to consider multiple welfare identity given its unprecedented economic growth in the late 1980s and early 1990s leading to a much more liberalist agenda moderated by the social partnership model. Implicit within Esping-Andersen's thesis was the premise that the more spent on specific welfare services, the more effective those services would be or at least were expected to be. Housing or indeed property ownership *per se* remained largely absent from Esping-Andersen's initial typology until but later appeared as an alternative indicator (see Esping-Andersen *et al,* 2001). The emphasis on indicators adopted by Esping Andersen reflects the quantitative revolution in sociology which began in the 1970s whereby advanced in numerical data collection and analysis led to an increased emphasis on the value of quantitative accounts of welfare deficits and subsequently theorising of welfare protection. Quantitative evaluations of need in welfare policy based on the American liberal model began to become influential in determining government policy, an emphasis which Esping-Andersen himself has called into question (Esping-Andersen, ibid).

A summary of Esping-Andersen’s classification and the characteristics of each country is found in Table 5:

Table 5: Summary of Esping-Andersen's Model of European Welfare Regimes.		
Welfare Regime	Characteristics	Countries
Liberal welfare model.	Means testing for benefit entitlement. Social insurance. Strict entitlement rules. State encouragement of the market.	United Kingdom. United States of America. Canada. Australia.
Conservative-corporatist model.	Family welfare policy stresses a traditional role for and composition of the family. Social insurance excludes female household members, notably mothers of dependent children, not engaged in paid employment. Social conservatism by promoting prominent roles for institutions such as the church and the family which frequently pervade welfare policy. Corporatist by promoting interdependent relationships between social partners, namely capital (business interests), labour (workers interest) and the state.	France. Republic of Ireland[1] Germany. Austria. Italy.
Socio-democratic model.	Principles of universalism and decommodification extended to the middle classes. Lesser role for the market and the family. Committed and dependent on full employment.	Scandinavian countries.

Adapted from Esping - Andersen (1990; 1999; 2006).

[1] Although Ireland is characterised here as a conservative corporatist model of welfare in Esping-Anderson's typology, more contemporary critiques have highlighted the rapid growth of liberalism in the Irish economy with the advent of the Celtic Tiger – see Wheelan and Maitre (2006). This thesis demonstrates the value of reclassifying Ireland's typology to neoconservative liberalist underpinned by the social partnership model - see section 4.12.

The classification in Table 5 represents an idealistic perception of Esping-Andersen's influential *"Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism".* Indeed, this limitation is readily acknowledged by Esping-Andersen himself (1990) who recognises that no nation represents a pure case. Clearly, England is not made up entirely of male breadwinners supporting a full time, unpaid mother and dependent children, although this does remain is the dominant model in this country. France may largely remain predominantly a conservative corporate regime but is moving away from a conservative corporatist model to one which supports dual earning parents (O' Sullivan and Higgins, 2000). Furthermore, the research for this thesis demonstrates how the longstanding dominance of the social cohesion agenda in France further distorts Esping-Andersen's typology. The Republic of Ireland's welfare regime may manifest the dominant characteristics of conservative corporatism but the national typology is underpinned increasingly by a regime with elements of liberalist ideologies fuelled by the emergence of the Celtic Tiger economy in the mid 1990s (Whelan and Maitre, 2007). The social partnership model which engages the voluntary sector also heavily features in Ireland and the relevance of this in respect of homeless women is highlighted in the thesis, a further dimension which is blatantly disregarded in Esping-Andersen's typology. At the same time, women and in particular lone parents are key consumers of both social housing and are the group most likely to use statutory and voluntary homelessness services in all three countries. Yet the three countries manifest differing degrees of commitment to social housing in its different guises (18 per cent in England; seven per cent in Ireland and 20 per cent in France). All three countries have promoted homeownership where high levels of household income are required, without a corresponding increase in state subsidy for social housing. When viewed in this way, the limitations of Esping-Andersen's analysis become even more accentuated.

The sociodemocratic model embodied by the Scandanavian countries provides a sharp contrast to the liberalist model of England and the conservative corporatist models of Ireland and France. Here, the writings of Ingrid Sahlin are

valuable in reflecting on the way in which the principles of universalism (closely associated with the Scandanavian countries) impact on welfare approaches to homeless (Sahlin, 2001). However, this thesis elected not to include the Scandanavian countries in the analysis as it was felt that a focus on two case study countries which shared the *same* welfare regime identity of conservative corporatism alongside an English liberalist case study would allow for a more detailed review of the relative merits of the nuances of the commonly assigned welfare regime identity of conservative corporatism in Ireland and France but within the context of a different country. By using this approach, the fundamental patriarchal nature of this much cited typology are clearly exposed.

Not surprisingly, Esping-Andersen's macro perspective on welfare regimes has attracted much debate within the comparative housing studies community. Oxley (2001) has questioned their legitimacy as robust tools for analysis. He has (2001) suggested that Esping - Andersen's classifications have become popular within comparative housing research in the absence of any acceptable alternatives:

"Esping-Andersen provided ideas which may others have clutched at in a struggle to categorise and compare housing policies…..others have considered them and rejected them as a basis of a meaningful classification".

(Oxley, 2001, page 93).

Until relatively recently (from around 2006 onwards) Esping-Andersen's analysis remained largely unchallenged from a feminist perspective. This was despite the fact that women's contribution to the economy either through direct paid employment or unpaid employment, particularly childcare or caring for relatives, were invisible in his typology. This distinction is particularly significant for critiques of welfare state policy where decommodification for women is likely to mean that they will carry out unpaid employment, notably childcare and caring for relatives. Esping – Andersen's writing in 2006 began to suggest he had recognised this imbalance when he began to consider, albeit briefly,

women’s participation in *labour markets* as an indicator of equality, deferring once again to his narrow application of empirical work on income distribution using secondary data sources. His 2006 analysis demonstrated a shift in thinking which suggested that gender may be relevant in considerations of poverty risk. But the naïve suggestion that *"lone parents in Italy have surprisingly low poverty rates in part because they bundle up with kin"* (page 15) does rather miss the point. Individual countries have individual housing systems and the extent to which peoples’ ability to compete equally within these housing systems are determined by the ability to pay where housing is clearly a commodity. This holds particular poignancy in the owner occupied sector but commodification of social housing through the right to buy scheme is also relevant here as are notions of affordability in the social sector and private rented sector given housing benefit thresholds. Labour market engagement for women in England is actively encouraged through provision of so called such "wrap round childcare" which attracts generous government subsidy. Ireland and France shared the welfare regime identity of conservative corporatism by supporting a regulated labour market which operates within a capitalist framework (Ireland’s more liberalist dimension with the advent of the Celtic Tiger economy is in itself further evidence of the limitations of Esping-Andersen's macro typology). Within the conservative corporate regime in countries such as Ireland and France, motifs of the Church, national government and other institutions are interlinked to support economic activities. In the case of France, stratification is evident through the social security system, most in evidence in the pension system but obvious elsewhere in the welfare benefit payment system, where payments are determined by the duration and nature of the person’s paid employment. Generous maternity benefits also enable women to stay at home in both France and Ireland. This reinforces the notion of the male breadwinner model and serves to reflect a policy commitment to the role of motherhood by providing benefits as a form of remuneration.

The nature and extent of an enforceable right to housing is also relevant to women's homelessness and welfare theory. Homeless households have

different rights to housing and other services in different countries. Liberalist driven systems have sought to heavily enshrine the rights discourse in housing practice at the operational level. England is a case in point where the first explicit right to assistance for homeless households was enshrined in legislation in the National Assistance Act 1948 and placed a statutory duty on social service departments to provide emergency assistance designed to keep families together. This duty was then transferred to local housing authorities in the Homeless Act 1977, then the Housing Act 1985 Part III, followed by the Housing Act 1996 Part IV. The most recent primary legislation impacting on homelessness is the Homelessness Act 2002. But in Ireland no equivalent legislation exists. In France, the recently introduced Loi DALO has yet to be fully implemented. In the case of France, the minimum insertion income law (RMI) was introduced in 1988 to provide financial (but crucially not housing) assistance to specific groups of homelessness groups, notably those people living in recognised hostel accommodation. There is no published data on take up of RMI by gender but given the private nature of women's homelessness and lack of accommodation for female residents, it is unlikely that this benefit has been maximised by women. Prior to the Loi DALO, the most significant piece of legislation in France for homeless groups was the Loi Besson 1990 but this does not place an explicit duty on local authorities (municipalities) in France to house homeless groups. Rather, it provides powers to include the housing needs of homeless households in county plans (Firdion and Marpsat, 2004). Such legislative and policy measures imply different approaches to interpretations of citizenship at the nation state level in the three case study countries.

3.4 Paid and Unpaid Employment: Women and Welfare Regimes

Early attempts to examine women's position with regard to the welfare state sought to contextualise feminist approaches alongside the documentation of European social history and therefore were largely historical and descriptive (see Kaplan, 1992). But then writers such Jane Lewis began to review overall approaches to welfare policy from a feminist perspective. Lewis' work (see particularly 1993; 1999) provides a succinct overview of the limitations of

Esping-Andersen's much cited typology. In her earliest critique published in 1999, Lewis highlighted the derisory reference to unpaid labour in Esping Andersen's analysis. In her later critique published in 1999, Lewis developed this notion by suggesting that it is not just that women's work which is frequently unpaid as it is caring work which carries no direct financial remuneration but that this notion of caring is also manifested in the kinds of paid jobs women tend to undertake. Examples of professions such as social workers, nurses, home helps and teachers are given to substantiate this view. Lewis also suggests that the key relationships which are absent from Esping-Andersen's taxonomy are those which exist between paid work, unpaid work and welfare policy. Such relationships are clearly gendered, she argues, since although there has been an increase in the numbers of women entering the job market (although equality with regard to parity of pay and conditions has not yet been achieved), there is little evidence to suggest that the division of unpaid work between male and female household members has become more equitable. Pascall and Manning (2000) extended this argument further by emphasising the potential conflict between women's domestic responsibilities and neoliberalist approaches, supported by state intervention, which advocate gender equality achieved principally through women's labour market engagement. This calls into question the notion of free market feminism as promoted by Conservative party ideology. The dilemma becomes more accentuated when it is openly acknowledged that many women may choose to stay at home to take care of their children independently of a male breadwinner given the appropriate level of financial support by state sponsored maternity benefits and or family and child benefits. Pascall and Manning (2000) provide a salutary reminder of the reality of poverty faced by many women in the absence of a state sponsored system which purports to provide adequate financial support to women who stay at home to take care of dependent children:

"To what extent women now want state support for paid employment is disputed. This kind of "equality" was state imposed, gave women unsupported double burdens and denied the value and privacy of family life. But there is a

powerful case that women need and value paid employment and poverty often makes family life less cosy than western images".

(Pascall and Manning, 2000, page 250).

Lewis (2008; 1993) further counters Esping Andersen's perspective by suggesting that a more appropriate model of welfare regime is based on the concept of the male breadwinner. In Lewis' analyses, the model of the male breadwinner is depicted as "strong" in the Republic of Ireland (conservative corporate) "modified" in France (also depicted as conservative corporate but with differing welfare approaches) and "weak" in Sweden (social democratic). Using this hypothesis, England may be described as having a "fragile" male breadwinner regime given the prominence of women in paid employment. But what remains critical is the nature of the employment and the way in which patriarchal structures impact on women's abilities to make "free" choices, when these decisions are closely influenced by childcare responsibilities.

3.5 Institutional Risk and Modern Risk Society

The importance of welfare regimes in reinforcing gender inequalities has been introduced above. At the same time, institutional networks such as family and friends occupy a distinct safety net when it comes to providing protection for homeless women in all three case study countries selected for this analysis but to differing degrees. Research evidence across Western European countries has pointed to the distinct nature of women's homelessness. Many commentators have pointed to women's homelessness as being invisible or hidden and argue persuasively that women tend to rely on these institutional networks in the first instance at the point of housing crisis (Kearns *et al* 2008; Watson and Parson, 2005; Edgar and Doherty, 2000; Croft-White and Parry Cooke, 2000; Jones, 1998; Webb, 1999; Daly 1999). Withdrawal of housing welfare resources and lack of housing *affordability* for women increases the likelihood of homelessness at the national level. One Lyon respondent who participated in the semi-structured interviews noted how this hidden

homelessness meant that fewer resources were allocated for women's homelessness projects than men's:

"Les femmes sont invisible – il y'a plus des resources pour les hommes."

"Women are invisible – there are more resources for men".

Director, male, voluntary sector women only hostel.

Analysis of the quantitative data (45 respondents, 15 in each case study city) revealed that none of the homelessness professionals considered "being asked to leave by family or friends" as a primary reason for women's homelessness. Yet all fifteen of the Leeds respondents who completed quantitative questionnaires considered that being asked to leave by family and friends as a trigger to homelessness for just men. This applied to 60 per cent of those interviewed in Cork and 33 per cent in Lyon. This strongly suggests a culture amongst homelessness professionals which assumes that friends and family will continue to provide accommodation to homeless women despite statistical evidence to the contrary. A state of denial appears to exist given that there are no official mechanisms for recording data for women who are sofa surfing and who are threatened with homelessness from friends/family accommodation, this culture further camouflages the level of need for this group. By contrast, being asked to leave by family or friends was deemed by respondents as being more acceptable for men than women, most notably in Leeds. This evidence reiterates the importance of robust data collation and analysis on women's hidden homelessness in the three countries.

Following analysis of the semi -structured interviews, the research has revealed how homelessness professionals perceive recourse to state sponsored homelessness solutions is a last resort for many women. One of the homelessness managers in Leeds interviewed as part of this study outlined the

very real problem of physical violence posed to women and their children in some hostel settings to explain why women tended to use friends and family to resolve homelessness problems:

"Women tend to use other systems first for all different kinds of reasons. For example, one alternative sleeping rough feels more threatening to women and pose more problems than it does to men. So there are the threats like physical attack, sexual attack…with children, it simply is not an option".

Local Services Manager, male, voluntary sector housing support organisation.

Another respondent interviewed for the study pointed to the way in which men may have the same feelings when faced with homelessness but these feelings are suppressed:

"There is the traumatic experience of becoming homeless and whatever may have led up to that – for women, this is a lot to deal with. Men seem to respond in different ways, it's not that they don't feel the same feelings often, it's more that they show it differently".

Social Care Manager, female, Sure Start, social services.

The same respondent suggested that women's frequent dependency on the welfare state catapulted them unwillingly from the private to the public arena:

"I would say that women's homelessness is more public than men's. They have to present as homeless to the housing office, often with their children. So they cannot hide it, even if they wanted to."

Social Care Manager, female, Sure Start, social services.

Here again, a review of welfare regimes serves to ground a critical account of the way in which institutional risk relates to welfare regimes and women's homelessness. The risk of becoming homeless is augmented in nation states

where the institutional support of networks such as family have diminished thereby propelling households at risk of homelessness into the centre of the welfare machinery rather than using family or other networks such as friends as support systems. England's liberal model is one such example. By contrast, the conservative corporate regimes which prevail in Ireland and France, the role supportive institutional networks, notably that of the family assume a more dominant role thereby, in theory at least, minimising the need for overt social protection measures promoted and frequently managed by the state. This in turn may seek to minimise the institutional risk posed to women threatened with homelessness in those countries but also demonstrates one motive for the development of social protection measures.

The thesis raises the issue of risk to homelessness for women in the three case study countries and in particular, how this risk is characterised and reviewed by the homelessness professionals in the three instrumental case study cities. The interpretation of risk throughout the thesis reflects Foucault's overall proposition (1977) that some people are more vulnerable to certain problems than others and that assessments of risk, namely vulnerability to poverty and social exclusion, involve critical reviews of prevailing ideologies and structural, societal problems. Reflections on modernity are pertinent in this regard. For example, Forrest (1999) argues that *"marginality and subsistence living is the common experience in the everyday life of millions of people when viewed on a global scale"* (page 18). Kennet and Marsh (1996) argue that there has been a *"marked increase in risk, precariousness and individualisation for the mass of the population"* (page 6) .In households where income is limited, the way in will translate to the direct experience of the individual varies. But the relative disadvantage experienced by women renders them more vulnerable to homelessness than men (Watson, 2000). The writings of German sociologist Ulrich Beck (1999) are also insightful here. Beck raises the notion of modern risk society and points to the value of social welfare in playing a key role to play in the management of risk for groups, such as women and in particular lone parents, who experience socio-economic disadvantage as a result of

globalisation. This notion is reaffirmed by evidence from Fouarge and Layte's research undertaken in 2005 which strongly suggests that people living in countries which uphold conservative corporate regimes such as Ireland and France recover quicker from poverty than those living in liberalist regimes such as England's. In the case of France, Jobert (1993) points to neocorporatist nature of the welfare state in the wake of a raft of reforms in 1970s and suggests that *"the policy of social protection appears truly necessary only in situations where the network of loyalties and personal bonds have been torn"* (page 234). Marpsat (2000) provides an interesting perspective on the response of the corporatist approach to welfare in France in her critique of survey methodologies when evaluating homelessness amongst women in France. She asserts that women's absence, amongst street homeless groups and in particular where there are children present, may reflect the perceived preferential treatment afforded to them by welfare policy. She believes that there is some evidence to suggest that this relative advantage is an effect of social representations of gender roles and the power of the mother in society as a whole. Using the French social services as her reference point, she notes that social workers tend to apply the "women and children first" approach. In this scenario, risk is minimised but only because of timely welfare intervention in the absence of adequate family or other support structures. McNaughton's review (2008) examines the way in which the management of risk to homelessness involves the negotiation of normative social boundaries. McNaughton and Sanders (2007) writing on the topic of women sex workers asserts that the consumption of conditional welfare services during the transition from "disordered" lives serves not just to marginalise homeless women but also to criminalise them.

Notions of institutional risk and modern risk society inevitably prompt further discourse around structure and agency. This research approach undertaken for this thesis favoured a structurist epistemology which gives prominence to the role of institutions, organisations and other bodies (hence the structures) in explaining a known outcome. This approach was deployed to both observe

ethical constraints posed by the study and to use the common language of homelessness professionals to consolidate the comparative element of the work (see section 2.8 for a full review of the ethical issues considered in the research). Those who support the agency (intentionalist) role emphasise the individual as the agent in engineering the outcome. Using the work of Archer (1996), Mc Anulla (1998) provides an accessible overview which clearly shows where the problems within the structure versus agency issue:

"Structures, as emergent identities, as not only irreducible to people – they pre-exist them and people are not puppets of structures because they have their own emergent properties which means that they either reproduce or transform social structures rather than create them".

(Archer, 1996 in Mc Anulla 1998).

The introductory comments of this thesis raised the extent to which the structure and agency dichotomy is superficial when reviewing women's homelessness in the comparative context. Not surprisingly, the glib representation of the two distinctive camps of structure and agency represented as a dichotomy (as above) has been challenged by other commentators. The most cited of these challenges to the hegemony of one over the other has been provided by Giddens in his writings on structuration theory, first published in 1984. Here, the relationship between structure and agency are symbiotic in nature so that both notions are interdependent and inextricably linked. Applying a feminist discourse to this notion, some women may choose to resolve housing difficulties by their own means using financial and emotional resources thereby seeking to transform the structure from "within". Evidence of this is found in the sharp increase in owner occupiers who are single women in England (see Bachelor, 2002).

Jessop and Hay (1995) also contributed to the debate by suggesting that reference to structure and agency are inevitable within any discourse around rational thought and action. They propose that a more appropriate model to

facilitate analysis is the strategic relational approach. Central to this notion is that *"layers of structure act to condition agency and define the range of strategies which might be deployed by agents in an attempt to realise their intentions"*

(Jessop and Hay, 1995, page 5).

The importance of interrelationships here again are palpable. Yet no published comparative housing research has critically reviewed the interrelationships between domestic violence, relationship breakdown, poverty and household type of lone parent in developing sustainable solutions to homelessness amongst women by comparing nation states. These solutions would, of course, benefit not just women but all groups who are disproportionately represented amongst those defined in housing need such as young people, people from minority ethnic groups, people with disabilities or ex-offenders. The work for this thesis therefore seeks to lay down a marker to support the notion of other in comparative housing discourse. This argument suggests that, to a large extent, self -fulfilling prophesies lie at the heart of the strategic relational approach. Therefore, both the characteristics and the capacity of institutions as embodied by national homelessness systems are the driving forces behind the emergence of strategies which in turn determine the changing nature of structures. Legislative instruments, for example, are driven by factors such political catalysts (such as the development of party polices to reflect prevailing ideological political philosophies), pressures from social policy activists (including the provision of voluntary sector services for the homeless in England, from the 1960 onwards), facilitated through different systems of governance (both public and private sector agencies are involved in the provision of temporary accommodation, although the former is more conspicuous and reflected in data collection and research outputs). Social and economic structures do have elements of self regulation but at the same time may perpetuate inequalities in the pursuit of economic objectives. This process becomes self-fulfilling in promoting notions of normative values and truisms.

(Morgan, 2000). At the same time, the thesis does not seek to be deterministic. It is implicit within the work that individual agency and action is crucial in determining individual homelessness outcomes for individual women and lone parent households.

3.6 Feminist Review of Esping-Andersen's Typology

To summarise, there are clearly weaknesses with Esping - Andersen's typology, most obviously that:

1. Welfare regime typologies run the risk of reinforcing gender differences and reiterate stereotypical family roles such as the male breadwinner model. This perpetuates patriarchal control within the household. The American feminist writer Heidi Hartmann, writing in 1979, defined patriarchy as *"a set of social relations which has a material base and in which there are hierarchal relations between men, solidarity among them which enable them to control women. Patriarchy is thus the system of male oppression against women…..Patriarchy is not simply a hierarchy but hierarchy in which* ***particular*** *people fill particular places".*

(Hartmann, 1979, page 9).

2. Indicators of welfare regimes are largely gender blind. Crucially, employment is conceptualised only in terms of paid labour thereby excluding unpaid work frequently carried out by women, particularly in the form of caring for dependent children or relatives. This also calls into question Esping-Andersen's emphasis on pensions as an indicator as women's pension contributions are frequently substantially less than men because of unpaid labour and/or part-time paid employment and because of career breaks.

3. The contribution of discourse around citizenship are excluded from the welfare regime typology, thereby excluding and housing rights and specifically rights of homeless women. To what extent do welfare regimes in England,

Ireland and France enshrine notions of citizenship? How do welfare regimes embody notions of housing rights and what is the relevance to homeless women? How might inclusion of public investment in citizenship contribute to Esping-Andersen's existing typology of welfare regimes? What are the similarities and differences between England, Ireland and France in respect of notions of citizenship and women's homelessness?

4. By extension of (3), the extent to which women and in particular lone parents have the right to choose to undertake paid work or not may be seen as representing a further criterion alongside decommodification. Therefore measures of social protection such as those afforded by maternity benefits, childcare facilities and "family" benefits such as child benefit could legitimately be added to Esping-Andersen's indicators of analysis.

5. The relationship between social protection (maternity benefits, childcare facilities and family benefits notably child benefit) and institutional risk at the national state level within the comparative context women's homelessness is overlooked in the Esping-Andersen typology.

6. The typology places undue emphasis on dichotomous role of the state and the market. Therefore the voluntary sector is not included, a crucial sector for homeless women in all three case study cities. In Ireland, for example, the emphasis on social partnerships firmly implicates the voluntary sector as a one of the key sectors involved in the development of both economic and social policy. Around three quarters of the population of the population in Ireland and France are classified as Catholic. In Ireland, the Catholic Church's belief that marriage is a sacrament remains highly influential in both the management delivery of voluntary sector homeless services for women. This research has shown how services for single parent families are short in supply in Ireland and those services which do exist are dominated by Catholic Church in both hostel management and service delivery. In addition, the thesis shows how the dominance of the male breadwinner model reinforces key ideologies of

Catholicism. But in France, where a similar proportion of the population are defined as Catholic, the overall welfare approach in France appears to mitigate these influences (see section 4.18).

7. The macro typology advocated by Esping-Andersen is too descriptive and therefore inadequate in developing a critical evaluation of notions of institutional risk between countries when assessed within the comparative context of women's homelessness. This thesis demonstrates that homelessness systems represent a more appropriate, detailed and systematic conceptual framework for analysing such risk by allowing for a review of the institutions which cause and perpetuate homelessness in women at the nation state level.

3.7 England's Welfare Regime – Relevance to Gender and Homelessness

The research has demonstrated that in all three countries, women and specifically lone parents, are key consumers of homelessness services and as a result, are significantly more likely to rely on the social housing sector than men. This is the case regardless of the differences which exist in the prevailing welfare regime in each case study country.

England's liberalist system epitomises the impact of a welfare regime which focuses on homelessness rights and a social housing system where allocations are based on need and are not means tested as they are in France (although housing affordability is a critical debate in respect of England's social housing sector). In short, this approach has promoted spatial inequalities within England's social housing system, epitomised by the disproportionate number of lone parents who are rehoused as homeless into the social housing sector. One of the respondents in Leeds interviewed for this thesis summed up the position very effectively:

"Income is very important….the majority of the women in our hostel are receiving state benefits so they are very reliant on the council for accommodation".

House Supervisor (Hostel), male, voluntary sector.

At the same time, homelessness policy in England has introduced an overt preventative agenda through the Homelessness Act 2002 which may itself be gender blind despite women's dependence on homelessness services. Reeve *et al* 's account in 2006 aptly summarises the institutional failures in respect of within the English homelessness system:

"While homeless people, regardless of gender, will share many common experiences, a failure to adequately understand the (sometimes distinct and unique) situations and experiences of homeless women can sometimes result in a failure to develop appropriate responses and a failure to effectively tackle and prevent homelessness amongst women."

(Reeve *et al*, 2006 page 1).

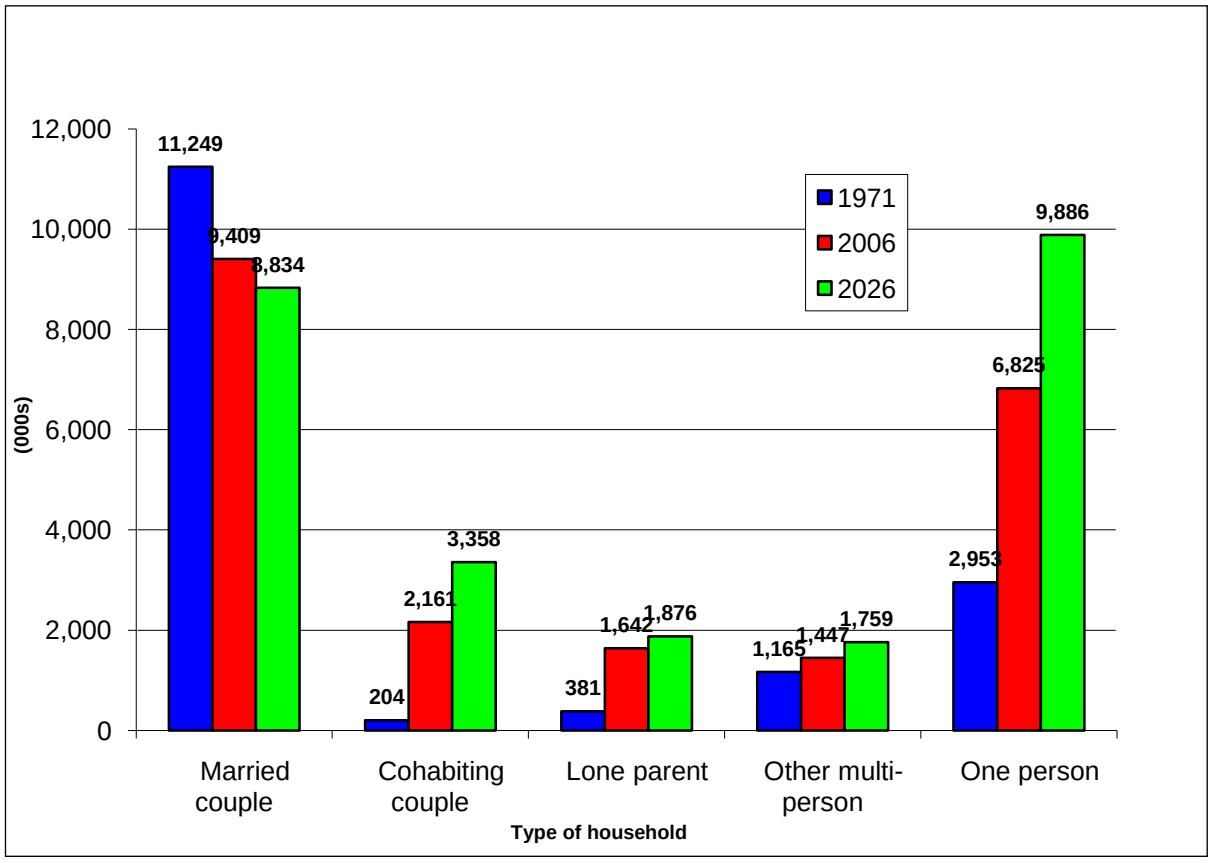
Moreover, the relative housing priority afforded to women through the homeless route may not necessarily be reflected in the quality of service received or the short term and long term housing options available housing outcome. Cramer's (2005) research suggests notions of women as the deserving poor still resonate today and that stereotyping of women remains in evidence with local authority homelessness departments.

3.8 Notions of the "Family" Under the Conservative Rule

During the eighteen years of Conservative Party rule in England between 1979 – 1997, Conservative Party ideology sought to preserve traditional notions of the family comprising a heterosexual couple and dependent children. The cause of societal ills was perceived as the breakdown of the family. Teenage lone parents became a particular policy target and were characterised as feckless shrimshrankers who abused the homelessness system in order to get rehoused by local housing authorities. David Cameron, Conservative Party Leader 2005 -

present, reaffirmed this commitment to conformist views of the family at the 2007 Conservative Party conference where he pledged tax breaks to married couples should his party be re-elected. The traditional notion of the family still dominates Conservative Party policy overall. This views continues to pervade despite robust research evidence which shows that the numbers of lone parents in England and Wales are projected to be five times as great in 2026 as it was in 1971 rising from 381,000 in 1971 to an estimated compared to 1,876,000 in 2026 (Murphy, 2006 using ESRC data from 2006). This data is reproduced in Chart 4:

Chart 4: Changes in Household Type and Trajectory to 2026 - England and Wales.



Adapted from Murphy (2006).

Despite evidence that more men in England are assuming the primary carers role for young children (see Tyre and Mc Ginn, 2003), considerable progress is

yet to be made to recognise men in this role through welfare provision. Middleton *et al's* critique of welfare benefit provision in England published in 1997 pointed to the way in which the system favoured the notion of the nuclear family to the detriment of lone parents, the majority of whom have a female head of household.

When the Blair administration came to power in 1997, emphasis shifted to the New Deal Welfare to Work Programme to encourage single parents back to work. This initiative was supported by measures designed to "contract out" childcare provision by mothers (and fathers but to a lesser degree) by boosting the number of nursery places for preschool children. The introduction of so-called "wrap around childcare" from early morning to late evening by the Labour Government in 2004 sought to attract further women back into the workplace by addressing the perceived main perceived obstacle between maternity and employment: caring for dependent children. In 2006/7, there were around 6,000 registered nurseries in England but only 240 of these are run on a non for profit basis (OFSTED, 2007). Under Tony Blair's leadership, the Labour administration instigated a series of tax credits (in effect, a form of state benefit but designed to encourage paid employment) targeted towards working families. Yet the shortage of high quality nursery places substantially limits the number of women who are able to confidently return to work following a period of maternity leave (Trade Union Congress, 2003).

When elected to power in 1997, New Labour's approach driven by Third Way ideology sought to modernise the welfare state. For women, this meant a reconstructed notion of citizenship based on New Labour's ideological blend of individual responsibility and social solidarity (Siim, 2000). Branded as further welfare reforms to modernise the welfare state, this rebranding of citizenship had the potential to place women's socioeconomic needs at the centre of the New Labour's approach. But New Labour's policies have attracted much criticism from the feminist arena, primarily on three main counts:

- Firstly, that women *per se* were not adequately considered in New Labour's overall welfare approach since 1997.

- Secondly, that the overall emphasis was on children, not women, epitomised by the pledge to eradicate child poverty before 2020 when child poverty is a euphemism for parental poverty.

- Thirdly, that measures such as remedies to combat anti-social behaviour disproportionately impacted on lone parents and focused more on responsibilities rather than rights of citizens, reinforced by the communitarian model.

An extract from Lister's work, writing with Dobrowolsky in 2005 provides a thorough summary of the key criticisms of New Labour's approach to gender:

"At the same time, whereas (some) children are hot, women are not. Women are more "out" than "in", in the sense that gender inequality and its implications for citizenship and social exclusion are not a burning concern for New Labour. Although gender is a critical determinant of poverty, and women disproportionately rely on social services, they are not central to the Blair government's welfare reform agenda."

(Lister and Dobrowolsky, 2005, page 2).

3.9 Previous Research Findings on Women's Homelessness

During the early 1990s, evidence emerged which showed that more women were urgently seeking emergency housing assistance than in previous years. The gender imbalance of hostel occupancy had begun to shift significantly so that just under half of those seeking emergency accommodation in Europe's hostels were women (FEANTSA, 1993). One source suggests that whilst the proportion of women using homelessness services in the Flemish region of

Belgium rose from 25 per cent to 30 per cent between 1989 and 1991, the proportion of male service users declined by 15 per cent (Daly, 1993).

In 1993, Daly observed that women across all member states in Europe do not consume emergency accommodation such as hostels in the same way as men but rather looked to family and relatives to provide temporary shelter. Research evidence has consistently pointed to the hidden nature of women's homelessness in England and other Western European countries as women seek to resolve housing difficulties using more the private sphere such as family and friends (Croft-White and Parry Cooke, 2000; Jones, 1998; Webb, 1999). This trend reinforces the merit of assessing the variation in institutional risk posed to homeless women in the three case study cities. This hidden nature of women's homelessness also prompts the question as to whether assessments of homelessness are driven primarily by existing administrative systems, notably homelessness legislation rather than by more robust assessments of need such as those undertaken by the academic community or through other research initiatives.

In 2000, evidence from Paris suggested that few homeless women spend the night sleeping rough on the streets or sleeping in makeshift shelters such as tents (Marpast, 2000). In her discussion about women's under representation amongst street homeless groups, Marpast (2000) explicitly points to gendered welfare regimes in explaining why homeless women are significantly more likely than to consumer welfare services yet are under represented amongst street homeless groups:

“Most homeless people are recruited from the poorest sections of the population; yet these are the categories in which women are the most numerous. (But) *women form only a small minority among the homeless, and why are they less likely than men to end up in the street after losing their home? …This relative "advantage" is probably an effect of social representations of gender roles and of the power of the mother ideal in our society. But it also has to be pointed out that preferential treatment for mothers is not entirely free of paternalism”.*

(Marpsat, 2000, page 1).

Even where hostels offered accommodation to women, some commentators have asserted that the dominance of male residents creates an environment where women feel estranged. Daly (1993) highlights the particular alienation many women feel Europe-wide by what they perceive as the male prevail of hostel accommodation, thereby forcing them to seek to resolve their housing problem through other means, most notably through reliance on family networks. Sexist attitudes alongside an overt requirement to become what might colloquially be described as "one of the lads" in an attempt to be accepted by other residents were frequently highlighted by women hostel residents in one study based on women’s experiences in mixed sex hostels in the North East region of England (Teeside Homeless Action Group, 2002). Other studies have applied a phenomenological approach by highlighting women’s experiences as homeless people and their management of public space. The recent work of Reeve *et al* (2006) points to: “*the recognition of the potential influence of gender on homelessness experiences, circumstances and strategies to negotiate and manage these circumstances.”*

*(*Reeve *et al* 2006, page 3).

Yet no published work to date has focused on the comparative women's homelessness in different countries, the primary triggers to homelessness and the value of welfare regimes in both contexualising and refining the debate.

The body of evidence which emerged in the 1980s on the disparity of income between men and women in England and implications for housing choices began to gather momentum in the post Thatcher era. Published research regarding women's pathways to homelessness has consistently suggested that poverty income, domestic violence and/or relationship breakdown and being a household type of a lone parent cause made women more vulnerable to housing exclusion or remaining in occupation of a property where they were at risk of violence (Morris and Winn, 1990; London Housing Unit, 1993; Merret and Gray 1982 in Gilroy, 1994). These factors have resulted in women's greater dependence on the social housing sector and have significantly contributed to their representation in poor quality accommodation in the privately rented and owner occupied sectors. But no published research has considered these four primary triggers to homelessness within the context of another Western European country (or indeed any country). This thesis has bridged that gap by providing a critical review of the institutional risk to homelessness for women in the three cities using theories of welfare regimes in which to ground the study.

In England, women's potential as mortgagees was only recognised in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Prior to this time, most lenders ignored women's income for mortgage eligibility purpose. Women were perceived as risk borrowers on two counts. First of all, their income was generally less than men's and secondly, their employment records were more erratic as women left paid employment to take care of children (Halifax, 2002). But as lenders began to recognise the economic contribution of women (and undoubtedly the additional profit to be made from a growing clientelle), more mortgages were made available to female applicants. No doubt this enlightenment by the leading building societies and banks in England was motivated more by the economic imperative rather than a quest for socioeconomic equality. It appears that

women continued to experience disadvantage when it came to homeownership. Access to owner occupation during periods of house price boom of the late 1980s and early 1990s was problematic for single women (Morris and Winn, 1990; London Housing Unit, 1993). When single women did gain access to owner occupation in their own right without a male earning partner, they tend to buy cheaper, older properties in need of repair (Morris and Winn, 1990).

It has been suggested that the ideological and policy emphasis of owner occupation in the 1980s and 1990s years which formed the bed rock of neoliberalism, is inherently patriarchal. For example, Gilroy's inspirational work published in 1994 highlighted the inherent patriarchal narrative contained in the Department of the Environment's White Paper published in 1971 relating to the promotion of home ownership which referred to as *"his accommodation"* and *"his exclusive rights of occupation".* To become an owner occupier or to have aspirations of owner occupation is seen as a mark of success, the most acceptable form of tenure and therefore the norm. This was reinforced by the work of Saunders (1990) who wrote prolifically and persuasively about the virtues of ontological security achieved only through homeownership. The work of Saunders has not yet been matched by a corresponding positive discourse surrounding social housing. But evidence from this time suggested that many women failed to live the Saunders dream. When women did gain access to the owner occupied sector in their own right in the 1990s without the income of a male partner, they tended to buy cheaper older properties (Morris and Winn, 1990). Writers such as Austerberry and Watson (1991) argued that there is a close ideological association between owner occupation and an implied domestic role for women. This assertion was supported by research undertaken by Darke (1994) who suggested that women perceive their home as inherently paradoxical since the home has the positive connotation as a safe haven but the negativity of entrapment because of taking the burden domestic chores. Another consequence of this emphasis on owner occupation was women's increasing representation and marginalisation in the social sector as the effects

of spiralling house prices began to negatively impact on their housing choices (Merret and Gray 1982 in Gilroy, 1994).

Further examination of the literature from the beginning of the 1990s regarding women's occupancy in the social housing sector accommodation in England suggests that they more likely to depend on the social housing sector than men given low income levels and childcare responsibilities. At the beginning of the 1990s, more divorced and separated women relied on social housing than men; just under half were in occupation of this sector in the 1990s compared to just 33 per cent of men (Sexty, 1990). Other research published around this time pointed to women's negative experiences of social housing consumers when they often faced highly punitive, judgmental attitudes from staff responsible for administering homelessness declarations (Lidstone, 1996).

According to data from the Department of the Environment, Transport and the Regions in 2000, of the two thirds of lone parents (90 per cent of which are headed by a woman) who formed separate households in 1996, almost half (49 per cent) rented from a local authority of housing association, compared to 22 per cent of all households (Webster, 2000). Statistics published in 2003 continue to reflect this trend. According to the Greater London Authority's 2001 report, an almost identical proportion – 50 per cent - of households headed by a woman still rent from a social landlord (in MacKenzie, 2003). In England, although fewer single parents are now defined as living in "poverty" using 2007 data from the Office of National Statistics (a decrease of 57 per cent to 48 per cent for the period 1996 - 2006), their numbers overall continue to climb. In the European context, Britain has by far more single parents than its neighbours (Woods and Smith, 2006). This pattern is also reflected in homeownership. In 2001, data from the General Household Survey recorded a higher proportion of men as homeowners (60 per cent compared to 40 per cent of women).

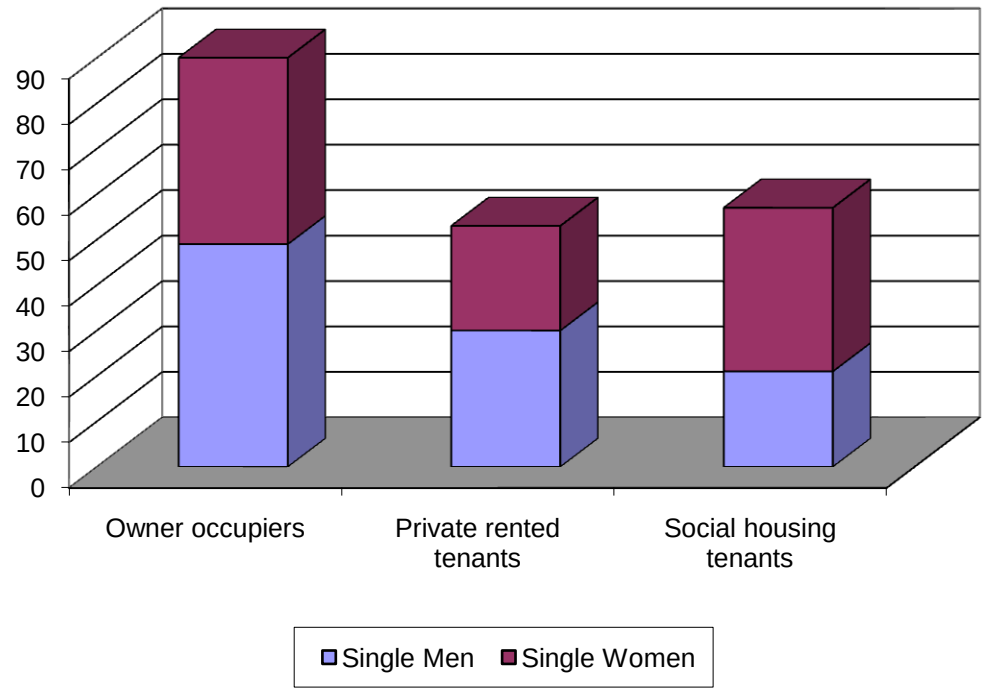
Echoes of the last decade are still in evidence today. Evidence from more recent CEHR research suggests that mothers with children under 11 are almost

twice as likely to be unemployed than men. Women are the most discriminated group in England, as regards employment opportunities, particularly Pakistani and Bangladeshi women (30 per cent less likely to have paid work), followed by disabled people (both men and women at 29 per cent) (Leppard, 2007). Clearly, this level of poverty has clear implications for women who seek housing solutions within a country's such as England where housing choices are based largely on free market principles (owner occupation comprises 70 per cent of all housing types in 2009). Moreover, when lone parents become owner occupiers, there is evidence to suggest that financial difficulties are more likely to arise with this group than with couples with children. As a consequence, evictions levels are higher for this group (Rowlingson and Mc Kay's, 2005).

The gender gap has, to an extent, begun to narrow. In 1991, only 26 per cent of the female population were first time buyers compared to 35 per cent of men. Evidence from the Halifax Building Society published in 2002 indicated that single women now make up 21 per cent of first time buyers compared to 30 per cent for single men (Halifax, 2002). Six years later, National Statistics data published in 2008 on the housing tenure of single people showed that the gap had begun to narrow but nonetheless, whilst three quarters of single men owned their own home outright in Great Britain compared to just three fifths of women (National Statistics, 2008). This data is summarised in Chart 5: [2]:

[2] This data relates to Great Britain.

Chart 5: Housing Tenure in Great Britain: Single Men and Single Women By Housing Tenure Type.



Adapted from National Statistics (2009).

Equivalent data for couples with children was not available from either National Statistics or the Halifax. But as the principal wage earner is cited first in all mortgage applications and men generally command higher earnings than women (frequently with the female applicant as the second cited income), the gendered nature of homeownership in England is apparent. Further, joint applications may increase the permissible level of borrowing permissible but effectively tethers both parties to paid employment to sustain mortgage repayments. Sustained owner occupation relies frequently on dual if not multiple income levels. With average house prices in England at around £162,000 at January 2009, joint mortgage applications have become the normative practice despite the market correction caused by the credit crunch (Land Registry, 2009). But reliance on another party's income can also increase the risk to homelessness in the event of a relationship breakdown. In cases of where a

woman has left the former home and dependent children, it is the woman who recovers much more slowly from the economic shock of a relationship breakdown than the man (Fawcett Society, 2007).

What effect does this trend have on lone parents? In the case of England's liberalist regime, 70 per cent of all housing types are classified as owner occupied. The equivalent figure for private rented accommodation is 11 per cent (Communities and Local Government, 2008). The ability to secure paid employment is therefore central to acquiring and sustaining accommodation in a national housing system where the social housing sector has become increasingly residualised. Yet there is substantial evidence to suggest that women are more likely than men to suffer from the effects of poverty at a European level. This feminisation of poverty is perhaps best captured by Chant (2006) who asserts that women generally have fewer financial resources than men; women's poverty is more acute than men's i.e. women are poorer for longer and with less opportunities to escape the poverty trap and particular groups of women are most likely to live in poverty, lone parents being most at risk.

In the case of England, the securing of private, market driven housing solutions normally demands childcare support so that at least one but ideally two partners may work to pay for housing costs. The Blair administration (1997 – 2007) energetically promoted nursery places for working parents with dependent children, a policy measure which remains very much in evidence under Gordon Brown's leadership of the Labour Party since 2007. This principle is best captured by Gordon Brown himself who characterises his administration as *"a government that's on the side of hard-working families, helping them to climb the ladder".*

(Wheeler, 2008, page 1).

Data collated by Communities and Local Government (CLG), the lead department for housing in England shows that just under half (44 per cent) of all statutory homelessness acceptances were single parent families with a female head of household. Couples with children comprised only 19 percent of applicants. This has been a consistent trend in the CLG's statistics since 1997 (CLG, 2009c).

Tables 6, 7 and 8 summarise key aspects of each case study country's welfare typology and identify key issues relevant to gender:

Table 6: England's Welfare Regime and Gender		
Existing assigned welfare typology Typology: Neoliberalist but embodying elements of the sociodemocratic model first under Blair 's premiership (1997 – 2007) but particularly and Brown (2007 – present).		
Political Administration since 1997.	Characteristics.	Relevance to Gender.
New Labour 1997 – 2007 under Tony Blair's leadership.	Principles of communitarianism; Third Way. Emphasis on neighbourhood renewal and social cohesion rather than the eradication of homelessness. Means testing for benefit entitlement, including maternity benefits. Social insurance. Strict entitlement rules. State encouragement of the market. Further promotion of owner occupation through social and private sector.	Over representation of male breadwinner model reflecting the formation of the welfare state in England after Second World War thus reinforcing gender stereotypes. Focus on promotion of 'rights' through Thatcher's free market feminism and, in modified form highly influenced by New Labour's Third Way ideology leading to disproportionate reliance on private market solutions to address socio-economic problems. Drive to market solutions not attracting corresponding increase in essential sources of social protection such as maternity benefits, childcare provision and family benefits. Policies child (not parent) focused; this obscures the needs of lone parents the majority of whom have female head of household.
New Labour 2007 – date under Gordon Brown's leadership.	Two working parent model; dual incomes.	Retaining conventional models of the family which reflect dominant welfare state ideologies. In 2009, New Labour talks of an *"asset owning democracy; affordable housing for all'; rewarding hard working families".* Continued devaluing of unpaid labour by promoting paid employment amongst lone parents; punitive benefit cuts introduced October 2008.

Table 7: Ireland's Welfare Regime and Gender		
Existing assigned welfare typology: conservative corporatist. Revised welfare typology: neoconservative liberalist moderated by social partnership approach.		
Political Administration since 1997	**Characteristics**	**Relevance to Gender**
Fianna Fáil	Family welfare policy stress conventional composition and role of the family. Social partnership between government, employers, unions and NGOs since mid 1980s which seek to promote strategic consensus on economic and social issues. Social insurance excludes female household members, notably mothers of dependent children, not engaged in paid employment. Prominent roles for institutions such as the church and the family. Male breadwinner model. Incrementally liberalist since advent of Celtic Tiger economy from early 1990s. But this liberalism not reflected in the promotion of other rights, notably housing or equality rights.	Vigorous promotion of conventional role of the "family" by Irish central government reinforced by the morality of the Catholic church and welfare policy. Social partnerships since 1990s mean a more pronounced role for the voluntary sector where Catholic Church leads in hostel provision. Outlawing of contraception and abortion. Divorce only permissible since 1997 further reinforcing the model of male and female married heads of households with dependent children. Implies marginalisation of other models such as lone parents who do not match this ideal of the "family". "Deserted wife's social welfare payment" available to mothers only (not fathers) until 1997. Now replaced by "one parent family benefit".

Table 8: France's Welfare Regime and Gender		
Existing assigned welfare typology: conservative corporatist Revised welfare typology: liberal conservative corporatist moderated by social cohesion approach.		
Political administration	Characteristics	Relevance to Gender
Union for a Popular Movement	*Liberté, égalité, fraternité*. Longstanding support for natalité and promotion of motherhood. Family welfare policy stress "traditional" role and composition of the family. *"Régime général"* for health and security. Common action, mutual responsibility and shared "risk." Aimed at maintaining social cohesion rather than addressing inequalities. Earnings related social security system thereby linking socio-economic standing to welfare entitlement. Welfare therefore stratified. Provision of social security aimed to support workers and their families.	Emphasis on *la natalité* results; lone parents excluded from mainstream family allowances. But single parents not demonised by leading political parties and regional gender equality bodies established since 1980s. Tax breaks for families with more than one child.

3.10 Primary Triggers to Homelessness

In reviewing welfare regimes in each of the three case study countries, the thesis deployed the notion of homelessness systems to assess the institutional risk posed by four key interrelated pathways to homelessness amongst women (see section 1.1). These pathways are:

- Domestic violence where the perpetrator of the violence is male.
- Relationship breakdown.
- Poverty, specifically linked to dependency on state benefits; unpaid employment (namely childcare) part-time and low paid employment and;
- Being a household type of lone parent where there is a female head of household.

The commentary in sections 3.10 - 3.14 presents analysis of the quantitative survey data using a total of forty five questionnaires in the three case study cities. The quantitative questionnaire invited respondents to give their views on the relative risk posed by the four variables cited above to both men and women. Poverty was most frequently cited in Leeds (93 per cent of those interviewed). Therefore despite the presence of an enforceable right to housing and a generous welfare entitlement system, poverty and homelessness amongst remained inextricably linked in the minds of respondents. This was followed by 87 per cent in Cork. But this applied to only 67 per cent of homelessness professionals in Lyon. In respect of men and women, respondents in Lyon much less frequently cited the four key variables as causing homelessness amongst both men and women. Further research is required to identify and assess other perceived triggers to homelessness amongst both sexes such as the lack of housing support or overall lack of affordable housing supply identified by the Lyon respondents.

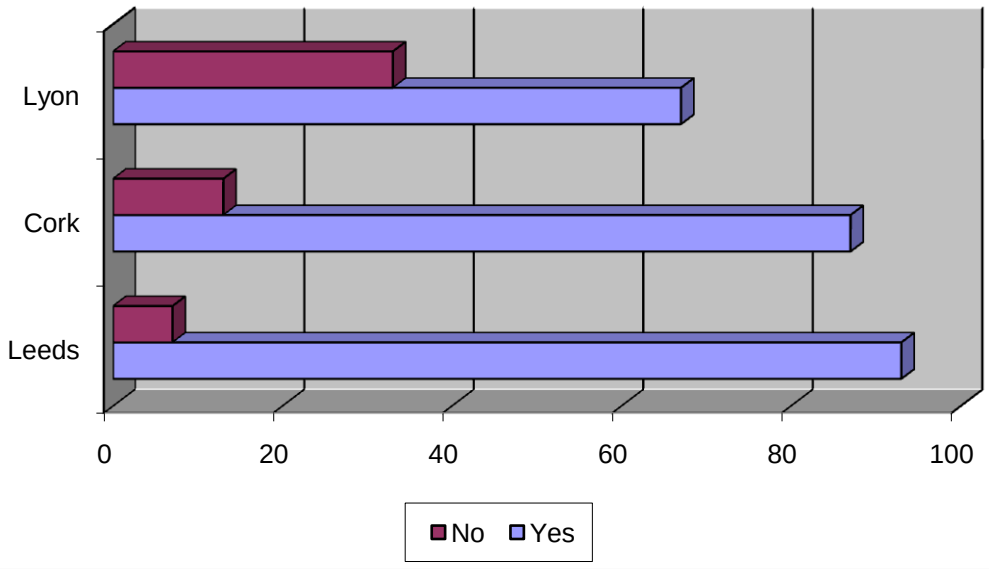
Overall, **analysis of the survey data reveals that** respondents in Lyon were least likely to **perceive poverty**; **benefit dependency** and **relationship breakdown** as primary triggers to homelessness amongst men and women.

Those in Cork were least likely to identify **domestic violence** as a trigger. **Lone parenthood** was seen as representing least of a risk in both Cork and Lyon for both men and women (60 per cent of respondents in both Cork and Lyon but this applied to 70 per cent of homelessness professionals in Leeds.

Table 9: Primary Triggers – Men and Women
(% of Respondents).

	Leeds		Cork		Lyon	
	Yes per cent	No per cent	Yes per cent	No per cent	Yes per cent	No per cent
Poverty	93	7	87	13	67	33
Dependence on state benefits	73	27	67	33	40	60
Relationship breakdown	100	0	87	13	67	33
Domestic violence	60	40	30	70	40	60
Household type of lone parent	70	30	60	40	60	40
N = 45						

Chart 6: Perception of Poverty as a Trigger to Homelessness: Men and Women by Case Study City
(% of Respondents)



Analysis of the quantitative data has shown that the vast majority of Leeds respondents believed that poverty was of the key triggers to homelessness. This is despite a shifting government agenda focusing on worklessness rather than anti-poverty measures, although financial inclusion policies developed by

local authorities are increasingly common. Further research is required to identify and assess the extent to which a modified model of Ireland anti-poverty strategies may be imported into the English homelessness context. In addition, the extent to which varying definitions of "poverty" or "welfare dependency" or "financial inclusion" in each country were relevant in shaping the responses in all three case studies is also worthy of further scrutiny.

Analysis of the survey data revealed that poverty was the variable most frequently cited by Cork respondents as a trigger to homelessness – a total of 87 per cent of those interviewed expressed this view. This is despite Ireland's emphasis (more so than in the other two countries) on anti-poverty strategies to alleviate homelessness. Further work is required here to determine the extent to which anti-poverty strategies are an appropriate welfare instrument in recognising the alleviation and prevention of homelessness in the Irish context.

Interestingly, respondents in Lyon were least likely to suggest that poverty was a trigger to homelessness (just 67 per cent compared to 87 per cent in Cork and 93 per cent in Leeds). Further research is needed to identify and assess the specific factors which contributed to this finding. How explicit is the policy link between anti-poverty strategies and homelessness in Lyon? In particular, how relevant is the social cohesion agenda? Might an emphasis on social cohesion support the principles of Catholicism on which the French welfare state appears to depend or at the very least draw upon? To what extent might a dominant does a social cohesion agenda complement Ireland's social partnership model and how is this linked to the enduring hold of Catholicism in Ireland and the power of government? How might future research in these areas inform further amendments to the Esping-Andersen typology of welfare? This finding also suggests that there may be less institutional risk posed by poverty in welfare typologies such as France's which have a more flexible housing system where homeownership is relatively more marginalized (only 55 per cent of all tenures), private renting is more prevalent (20 per cent), more carefully regulated and affords more security of tenure for occupants when compared to the English

equivalent. French social housing is means tested as comprises just under a fifth (18 per cent) of total stock.

In addition, analysis of the 45 quantitative questionnaires showed that Lyon respondents were least likely to see dependence on state benefits as increasing vulnerability to homelessness amongst men and women (only 40 per cent, compared to 60 per cent in Cork and 73 per cent in Leeds).

Chart 7: Perception of Welfare Benefit Depedency as a Trigger to Homelessness: Men and Women by Case Study City (% of Respondents).

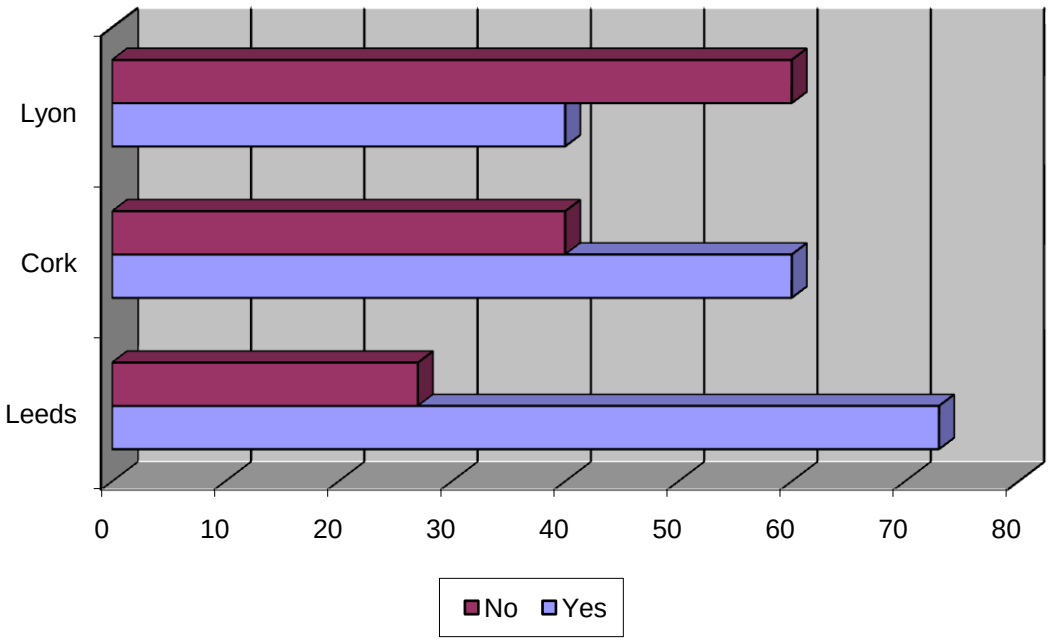
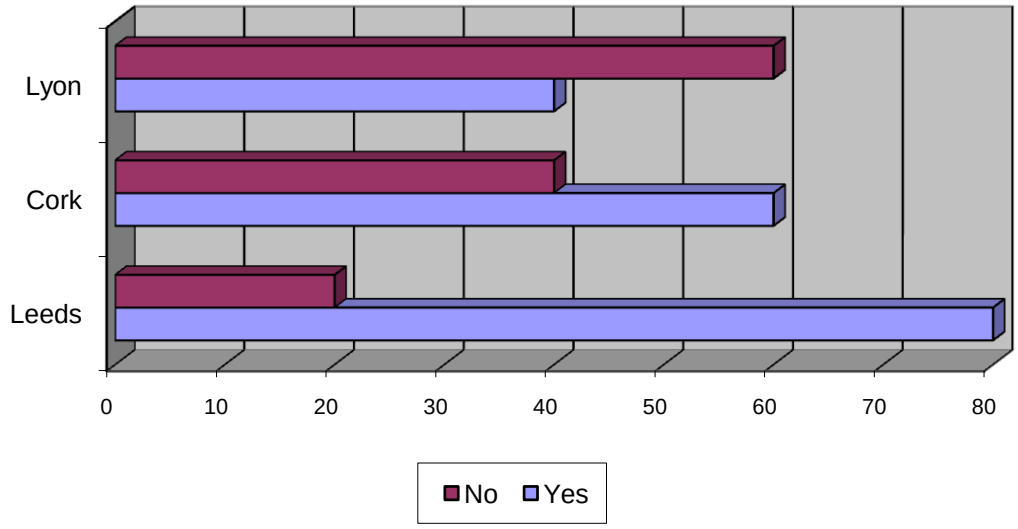


Table 10: Primary Triggers for Women by Case Study City. (% Of Respondents)						
	Leeds (per cent)		Cork (per cent)		Lyon (per cent)	
Domestic violence	60	40	20	80	40	60
Relationship breakdown with partner	27	73	7	93	33	67
Poverty	60	40	7	93	27	73
Dependency on state benefits	20	80	7	93	40	60
Household type of lone parent	80	20	60	40	40	60
N = 45						

Chart 8: Perception of Household Type of Lone Parent as Primary Trigger By Case Study City (% of Respondents).



Despite the differences in welfare typologies between England, Ireland and France and the way in which these typologies are enshrined in each country's homelessness system, analysis of the quantitative data shows that single parent families were consistently viewed as the group most vulnerable to homelessness in all three case study cities.

3.11 Lone Parenthood

Analysis of the quantitative survey data has revealed that being a single parent family was most frequently identified by the homelessness professionals in Leeds, Cork and Lyon as the primary trigger to homelessness amongst women. Four fifths (80 per cent) of those interviewed in Leeds said that this was a key trigger to homelessness, followed by 60 per cent in Cork and 40 per cent in Lyon. Further research is required to explore this finding in more detail. The respondents in Leeds who for the most part, implement comprehensive, strategic and holistic homelessness approaches, still identified lone parents as most susceptible to housing exclusion. This finding demonstrates the intrinsic value in developing discrete strategies for tacking homelessness amongst lone parents as a distinct group at the nation state level. If adopted, it is likely that the theme of lone parents would become incorporated into England's homelessness strategies, Ireland's anti-poverty strategy and France's social cohesion measures.

Analysis of the quantitative survey data show that half as many Lyon respondents believe that being a lone parent acts as a primary trigger to women's homelessness as in Leeds (40 per cent and 80 per cent respectively). The equivalent figure for Cork was 60 per cent.

In Lyon, respondents in the follow up interviews candidly recognised the importance of income in minimising homelessness amongst women but more frequently suggested that equality and employment measures which focused on both men and women represented the main way in which homelessness amongst women could be addressed. Moreover, equal proportions of respondents in Lyon believed that lone parenthood was just as likely to prompt homelessness in women as dependency on state benefits and domestic violence. This strongly suggests an interconnectivity between these variables in the minds of the French respondents even though the language of homelessness professionals in Lyon did not refer to strategic measures. Has England's approach to addressing homelessness in women become to prescriptive and too limiting? Further research is needed to explore this finding

further and to identify good practice from the French case study. It seems highly likely that France's welfare approach which has promoted part-time employment for women, generous maternity benefits and childcare allowances alongside a more flexible housing system where private renting occupies a dominant role, relative to the other two countries, may reduce women's vulnerability to homelessness. Further research is needed to explore this key finding further.

In Cork, the factor most frequently identified by respondents in the quantitative study as causing women's homelessness was becoming a lone parent family. Tolerance levels as regards lone parenthood may be increasing but the enduring morality of Catholicism has impacted on homelessness services, particularly those provided by the voluntary sector. Services for single men remain the default in the Irish homelessness system. Yet the Cork respondents reported that lone parenthood was three times more likely to prompt homelessness in women than domestic violence (60 per cent as 20 per cent respectively). Despite the distinct institutional pressures in the Irish case study, manifested by an overall lack of strategic planning which conspire to promote conventional notions of the family and the under developed nature of the city's homelessness system relative to the two other case study cities, being in the social group of a single parent family has emerged as the primary trigger to homelessness for women in Cork. This demonstrates lone parents' dependency on state and NGO homelessness services despite substantial institutional pressure on women to conform to traditional norms of the family.

3.12 Domestic Violence

Domestic violence ranked overall the second trigger to homelessness in women in the three case study cities.

Overall, analysis of the quantitative survey data revealed that respondents in Leeds were most likely to identify domestic violence (60 per cent) followed by 40 per cent in Lyon but just 20 per cent in Cork.

Given the substantive legislative and policy measures designed to support victims of domestic violence in England, it is not surprising that the respondents in Leeds viewed domestic violence as a trigger to homelessness. The liberal model has promoted an enforceable right to housing for women fleeing violence and these protective measures have become further strengthened in recent years. The government's own statistics in respect of Leeds and indeed other research evidence clearly demonstrates the prevalence of victims of domestic violence amongst consumers of homelessness services. Although Ireland and France ostensibly share the same welfare typology of conservative corporatism according to Esping-Andersen's typology, domestic violence as a trigger to homelessness was viewed differently by respondents in Cork and Lyon. In Lyon, substantially fewer measures exist to alleviate women's homelessness on the grounds of domestic violence yet well over a third (40 per cent) of those working in the field clearly acknowledged domestic violence as a key trigger. Further research is required to identify existing levels of knowledge acquired by professional experience and/or staff development amongst the Lyon respondents as regards the relevance of domestic violence in increasing women's vulnerability to homelessness. But in Cork, only a fifth of those interviewed considered domestic violence to be a key factor in causing homelessness. Here again, further research is required to critically review the factors which impact on respondents' perceptions. One possibility may be the continued promotion of marriage as a "sacred entity" under the doctrine of Catholicism thereby rendering domestic violence something which violates this

accolade. Subsequently, the Catholic Church in Ireland has only very recently publicly condoned domestic violence – see Birchard (2000).

3.13 Poverty

Poverty was ranked the third trigger for homelessness overall in Leeds, Cork and Lyon but here again, the research findings show fundamental differences between the cities included in the analysis.

Analysis of the survey data shows that poverty was least likely to be viewed as a trigger to women's homelessness by Cork's homelessness managers (this applied to just 7 per cent of those interviewed), followed by Lyon (27 per cent) but 60 per cent in Leeds.

Just under two thirds (60 per cent) of the homelessness managers in Leeds believed that poverty was a key trigger to women's homelessness. In the follow up interviews, respondents in Leeds highlighted the extent to mothers particularly were financially disadvantaged when faced homelessness because of domestic violence or relationship breakdown. One plausible explanation is that respondents are more aware in England, relative to Ireland and France, that market based solutions England's may render women more vulnerable when faced with homelessness. Yet this does not explain why the levels of respondents who believed that poverty was a key factor in Cork was so low, given that the owner occupied sector where prices are unregulated comprises the greatest proportion of total stock in all three countries. Furthermore, Ireland has the smallest level of social housing that the other two countries and no enforceable right to housing unlike England and more recently France. Of course, as has previously been noted, the income levels of those living in hostels are not always recorded. Therefore levels of awareness amongst the Cork respondents regarding financial exclusion may already be low. Further research could initially assess levels of awareness as regards the links between gender, income and poverty in Cork. Other research could take the form of a critical review of the policy links between Ireland's anti-poverty strategy, mortgage arrears and the prevention of homelessness to assess the impact of

anti-poverty measures on women. At the institutional level, future research could look at the role of key institutions such as family and religious institutions in protecting against homelessness in women caused by financial exclusion.

3.14 Relationship Breakdown

Out of the four primary triggers ranked by respondents in the quantitative questionnaires, relationship breakdown was viewed as least likely by all the respondents to cause homelessness amongst women in all three case study cities. But here again there were still substantial differences between cities. A third (33 per cent) of Lyon homelessness managers suggested it was a trigger, followed by 27 per cent of those in Leeds. Only 7 per cent of Cork interviewees saw relationship breakdown as a trigger.

Leeds, Lyon and Cork have similar levels of social housing (20 per cent, 21 per cent respectively and 19 per cent). Knowledge of the social housing landlord's housing management approach in the event of a relationship breakdown may have affected the findings in the three case study cities. But this does not adequately explain why respondents in Cork tended not to view relationship breakdown as a trigger to women's homelessness. Further research is therefore required to explore this finding further. It seems possible that other factors negate against relationship breakdown causing homelessness in women, most obviously the social protection provided privately by family or friends. Family support is also a feature of Esping-Andersen's conservative corporate model in France but this finding suggests that women in Cork are less vulnerable to homeless in the event of relationship breakdown than their French counterparts. It may be possible that women tend to remain more in occupation of the property more often in the event of a relationship breakdown in Cork relative to Leeds and Lyon. Further data analysis could therefore focus on the residency status and income of women, especially those with children, following separation or ultimately divorce, to determine the extent to which income is a factor in preventing homelessness in women. As Ireland focuses on anti-poverty strategies, an analysis of the links between homelessness in women, mortgage

arrears and anti-poverty measures would also be insightful. The perceived "sanctity" of marriage may also play a more conspicuous role in Ireland in welfare policy than in France and this could also be the subject of future research.

3.15 Welfare Regimes in Housing and Homelessness: A Comparative Summary

Chapter Three has demonstrated the significant deficiencies in Esping-Andersen's typology of welfare regimes. The research for the thesis has revealed that being a single parent family is perceived by homelessness professionals as the main factor which increases women's vulnerability to homelessness in all three case study cities regardless of the prevailing welfare typology of that country. Analysis of the quantitative data has informed this summary. Respondents in Leeds were most likely to point to lone parenthood as a trigger to homelessness (80 per cent), followed by Cork (60 per cent). But crucially those interviewed in Lyon were least likely to view lone parenthood as a trigger to homelessness for women (40 per cent). This findings clearly point to institutional inadequacies of welfare measures designed to protect lone parents in all three cities but to varying degrees. This evidence also points to the deficiencies within Esping-Andersen's typology given the common welfare identity of Ireland and France. Domestic violence was viewed as the second trigger most likely to cause homelessness amongst women but again, there were variations from city to city. Again, Leeds respondents were most likely to cite domestic violence as a trigger (60 per cent) followed by those interviewed in Lyon (40 per cent) but a mere 20 per cent in Cork. Poverty was the trigger least likely to be viewed as a trigger to women's homelessness by Cork's homelessness managers (this applied to just 7 per cent), followed by Lyon (27 per cent) but 60 per cent in Leeds. Relationship breakdown (without violence) was considered the trigger less likely to cause homelessness amongst women. It was most frequently cited by those in Lyon (33 per cent), followed by (27 per cent but only 7 per cent in Cork.

In Chapter Four which follows, these themes are further developed. The discussion in Chapter Four is linked to broader housing and welfare system of each country followed by a detailed review of the homelessness system at the nation state level.

CHAPTER FOUR: HOMELESSNESS SYSTEMS IN ENGLAND, IRELAND AND FRANCE

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4.1 Summary

Chapter Three of the thesis presented a feminist reconstruction of welfare regimes according to Esping-Andersen's analysis. Chapter Three pointed to Esping-Andersen's undue emphasis, particularly in his earlier writings, on paid employment to the detriment of unpaid labour provided by women thereby thereby placing the economic agenda at the nation state level central to his discourse. But unpaid labour is frequently the hallmark of lone parenthood given that single parent families need to prioritise unpaid childcare over paid employment. The contribution of unpaid work in reinforcing traditional notions of the family were also highlighted in Chapter Three as well as the relationship between structure and agency and their relevance to women's housing exclusion was also covered in Chapter Three.

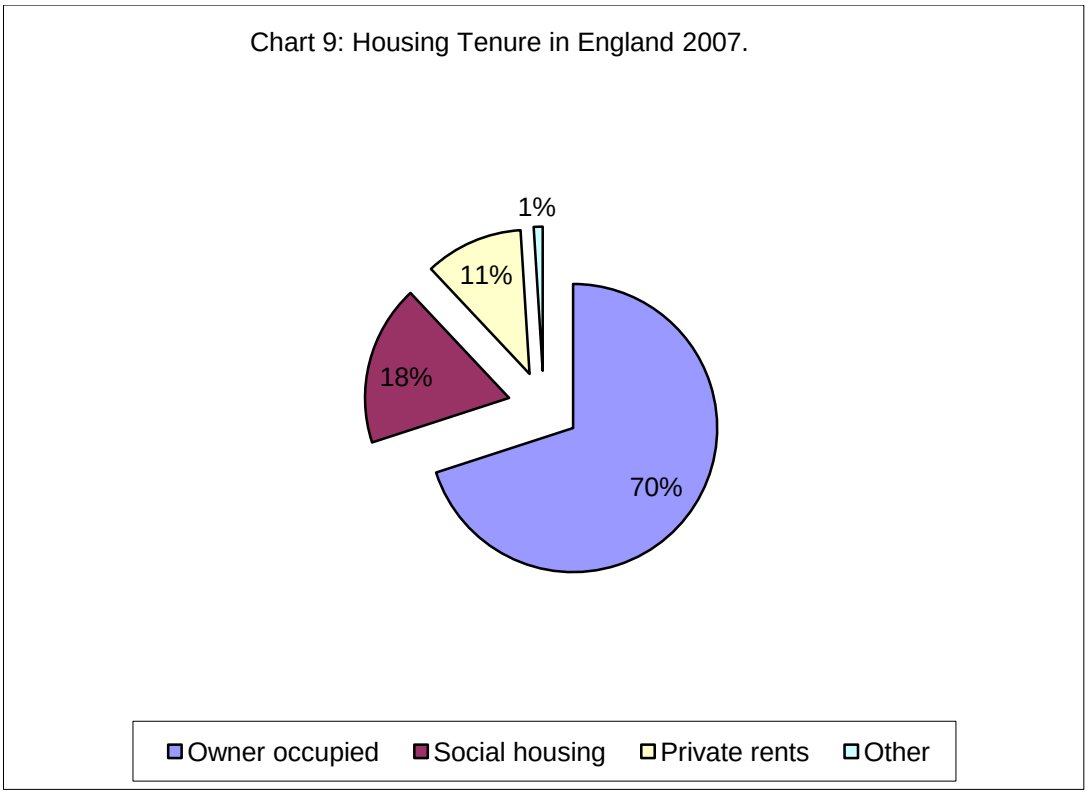
Social protection measures directly affect the nature of homelessness services provided for homelessness women. Chapter Four demonstrates how overall welfare typologies shape the homelessness system of each case study country at the nation state level. Using Theme 3, sub themes D - I of the thematic model found on page 33 as the primary framework, the chapter shows how welfare regime typologies shape the homelessness systems in each country and systematically demonstrates the relevance to women. The significance of feminism and social policy debates to women's homelessness also becomes more explicit in Chapter Four. Primary data relating to perceptions of homelessness; policies of key statutory and voluntary sector agencies are also outlined to facilitate a detailed review of the similarities and differences between countries.

4.2 England

Liberalist housing ideology in shaping England's housing tenure is palpable through the dominance of homeownership and a privately rented accommodation. The dominance of liberalism exists alongside a well established welfare state which provides a safety net notably through the social housing sector. In recent times, the impact of liberalist ideology has further impacted on the social housing sector through a range of measures designed to commodify the social housing stock such as the implementation of the right to buy the transfer of council housing stock to housing associations or arms length management organisations and the deregulation of private rents.

Chart 9 provides a summary of England's housing tenure:

Chart 9: Housing Tenure in England 2007.



Adapted from Communities and Local Government (2008).

The Housing of the Working Classes Act 1890 was the first piece of legislation which placed a duty on local authorities to build public housing in England. The

Act reflected at that time the model of the male breadwinner in paid employment and the woman at home providing free labour in the form of childcare. The reforms introduced after the Second World War sought to use housing to minimize the notion of class by promoting more mixed communities based on a blend of incomes and occupations. Council housing building levels grew steadily between the 1930s and 1970s to reflect large scale government programmes such as slum clearance in the 1930s and to replace stock destroyed by the Second World War. However there were variations in output from year to year and government investment in repair and maintenance of the stock began to dissipate by the mid 1970s. Notions of the family remained dominant as large scale mono-tenure estates comprising principally family type accommodation were built on the outskirts of England's large urban areas. High rise housing built in the 1960s was also primarily intended for families although its popularity substantially decreased as families began to protest against forced moves from slum clearance areas. The future of high rise was later called into question following the Ronan Point tower block collapse in 1968 amidst accusations of corruption in local government circles and the use of inferior building materials as a cost saving measure during construction.

The post war National Assistance Act of 1948, although effective in meeting key welfare needs at a time of economic and welfare restructuring, placed the homelessness responsibility on the shoulders of social services departments rather than housing authorities. As the woeful housing inadequacies of the 1948 Act became increasingly apparent, not least the much documented practice of taking into care of children when families were faced with homelessness, the case for reform became irrefutable and new measures were urgently sought to deal with the problem. The link between homelessness and a chronic housing shortage became the focus of concerted campaigns. The screening of Ken Loach's *"Cathy Come Home"* in 1966 was a seminal moment in this regard and has since become regarded in the English psyche as one of the first media representations of the real trauma caused by homelessness. The play, in which the protagonist's children are taken into care as a direct result of becoming

homeless following marital breakdown, caused public outcry and was one of the principal catalysts behind the formation of the national English housing charity Shelter and other social policy groups (see Richards, 1992 for a fuller account of the history of homelessness legislation in England). The introduction of the Homelessness Persons Act 1977 introduced the first enforceable right to housing for the homelessness and made this a local housing rather than social services responsibility. This was followed by the Housing Act 1985 Part 3 which introduced the duty to provide advice and assistance to non-priority groups, such as single people with no health problems.

Homeownership was given an unprecedented boost during the Thatcher regime. Thatcher's introduction of the right to buy through the Housing Act 1980 resulted in the privatization of council housing stock and the residualisation of the remaining properties as housing associations were branded the new public housing providers. The right to buy held dual, negative implications for single women and lone parents. First of all, lone parent families were largely excluded from the privileges afforded by the right to buy given that this group is over represented in benefit claimants. During the 1980s, single parents comprised only 13 per cent of applicants who exercised their right to buy (Jones and Murie, 2006). Secondly, lone parents were one of the key groups to use homelessness services and subsequently rehoused under the homelessness legislation in local authority owned and managed dwellings. Permanent offers of accommodation were largely from the residual council housing stock.

An integral aim of homelessness legislation was (and still is) to keep families together who otherwise would need to live apart because of their housing circumstances. But analyses of applications made at this time began to show that single parents comprised a significant proportion of those seeking assistance. Research published in England in the wake of Thatcherism regarding women's pathways to homelessness consistently suggested that poverty, notably as a result of welfare dependency, domestic violence and/or relationship breakdown and being a household type of a lone parent made

women more vulnerable to homelessness (Morris and Winn, 1990; London Housing Unit, 1993; Merret and Gray 1982 in Gilroy, 1994). This research suggested that these factors posed a greater degree of institutional risk to women living in England. As no equivalent comparative body of evidence exists this thesis aims to bridge that gap in the literature by focusing on Ireland and France.

Free market liberalism was rampant in the 1980s as mortgage finance became deregulated with a corresponding emergence of owner occupation as the most desirable form of housing type. Homeownership which had already grown became further equated with economic and social success. The housing boom of the 1980s revealed a clear gender dimension to the winners and losers of a housing system which favoured the owner occupier. Research evidence emerged at this time showed that women and in particular lone parents and single women who did not have the additional economic earning power of a male partner, experienced difficulties in entering and remaining in the owner occupied sector. Morris and Winn's influential study of equal opportunity and housing in 1990 concluded that women were significantly disadvantaged across all housing tenure groups in England. The findings of the London Housing Unit (1993) in its research entitled "*Housing the Poorer Sex"* drew similar conclusions where the affordability of owner occupation and the private rented sector for single women was brought into serious question. As a result, according to the London Housing Unit report of 1993, single women were compelled to rent bedsits in a poor state of repair located in undesirable areas or were forced to buy cheaper properties in need of extensive repair and maintenance. At the same time, single parent families and in particular teenage parents became demonised by political rhetoric during this era. Characterisations of lone parents in England as social deviants stemming some two centuries once again pervaded political discourse. The essence of this demonisation is perhaps best encapsulated by MacDermott, Ganrham and Holtermann (1998) who described lone parents as:

“..feckless immoral girls in Victorian times to mentally unstable and committed to psychiatric institutions in the 1940s and 1950s, the ‘council housing queue jumpers' of the 1970s and 1980s and finally the ‘work shy, benefit scrounging mothers' of the 1990s by Tony Blair”.

(MacDermott, Garnham and Holtermann, 1998, page 35.)

New Labour’s policies may have focused on the importance of social contract through the relentless promotion of a rights based agenda but there was arguably a greater emphasis on responsibilities reflected in key aspects of housing and regeneration policy. Policies were child (not parent) focused, thereby masterfully obscuring the need of lone parents. Measures to combat anti-social behaviour were largely punitive in the form of anti-social behaviour orders made mainly against teenage boys, a strategy which disproportionately impacted on the security of tenure of lone parents leaving them even more vulnerable to homelessness (Hunter and Nixon, 2001). Sure Start was the exception to this emphasis but its success was not uniform around the country. Wrap round childcare, effectively the contracting on the parental childcare role to the welfare state, was vigorously promoted by New Labour but there still remained a shortage of nursery places for young children thereby limiting working parents' options. Further protection for victims of domestic violence introduced by Homelessness Act 2002 alongside measures such as sanctuary schemes to encourage women to remain in occupation of properties rather than fleeing a violent partner. Homelessness prevention became a statutory duty under the 2002 Act and local authorities emerged as the lead agency required to write a prevention strategy in partnership with statutory authorities (namely housing, health and social services but also education and police) and voluntary sector groups in their areas. Homelessness fora emerged from this era as the principal vehicle for consultation and production of local authorities' homelessness strategies.

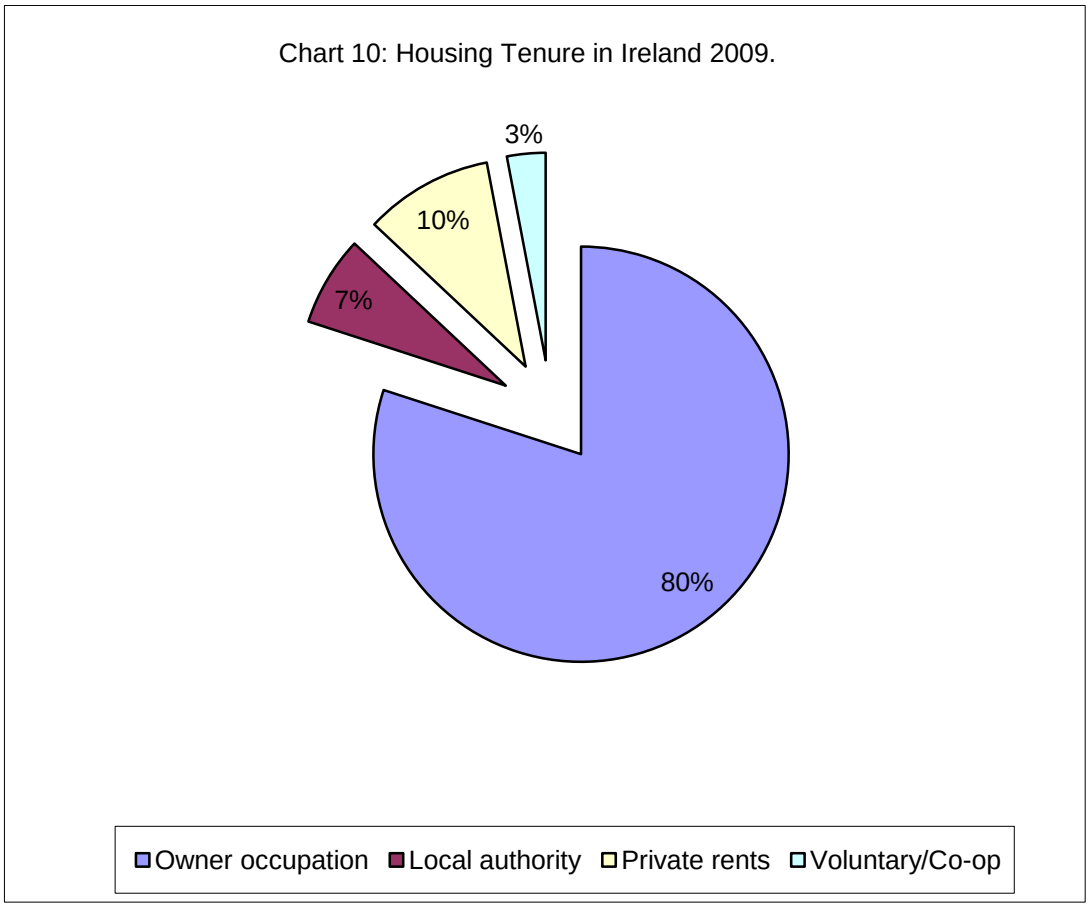
Welfare benefits remain available to single women and lone parents who are unemployed in England. Housing benefits covers rent costs in both the social

and private rented sector. In the case of the latter, full rent may not be payable depending on the local reference rent. Income support is payable on the interest of a mortgage through welfare benefit payments. Government proposals were announced in March 2008 which stipulated that lone parents are required to return to paid employment or face welfare benefit cuts. The government has since reneged on these measures citing the adverse economic climate as its reason for delaying implementing of the lone parent benefit reductions.

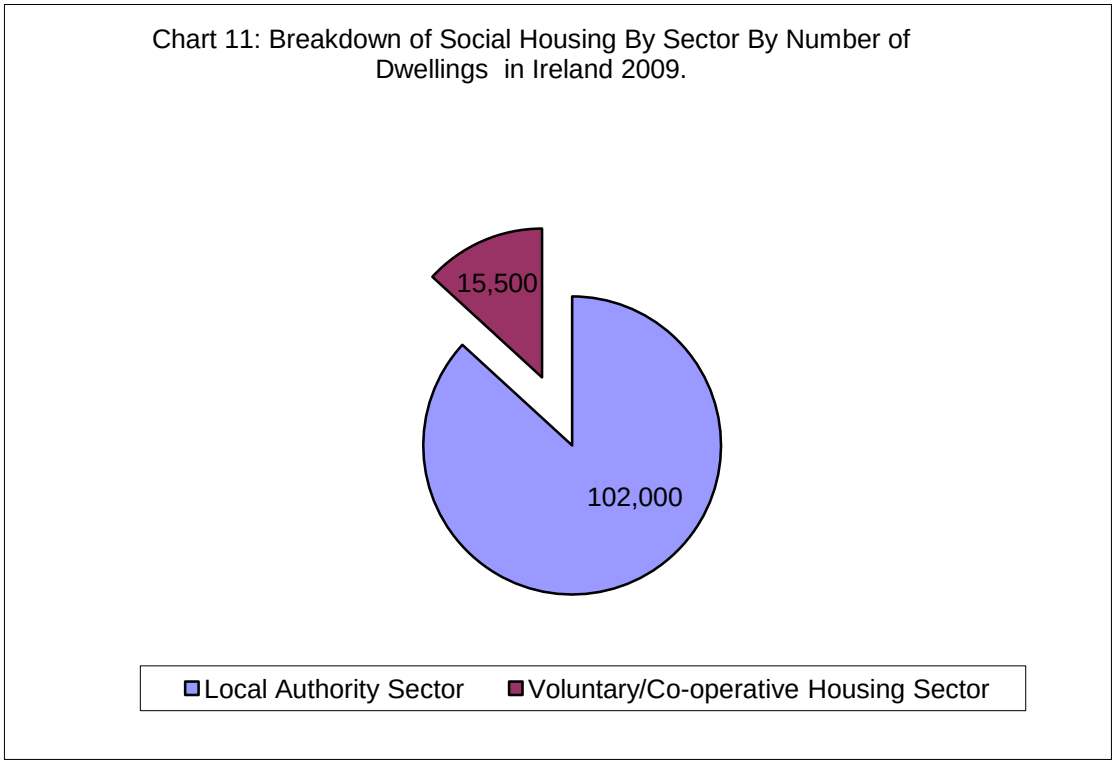
4.3 Ireland

Ireland has the highest level of owner occupation of the three countries selected for this analysis (80 per cent) and indeed has the highest level of homeownership in Europe. The social sector comprises only 10 per cent of Ireland's housing stock, the majority of which is provided by local authorities (Charts 10 and 11 respectively). As with its English counterpart, the voluntary sector housing movement (which approximate housing associations) have notions of philanthropy firmly in their origins and are more closely associated with the provision of primarily bricks and mortar accommodation. Care and support packages a more recent addition (Irish Council for Social Housing, 2004).

Chart 10: Housing Tenure in Ireland 2009.



Irish Council for Social Housing, (2009).



Irish Council for Social Housing, (2009).

The Housing of the Working Classes Act came into force in Ireland in 1890, five years later than the English equivalent. Traditional roles based on the male breadwinner model between men and women became firmly enshrined in the legislative process. It was the first significant legislative device to place a duty on local authorities to build properties for people in urban areas in Ireland. Critically, the Act reallocated subsidies from health to housing thereby marking the alliance between health and homelessness provision which still exists today. Given that housing conditions were poorer in Ireland than in England, slum clearance programme began in the 1890s when the Dublin Corporation developed the country's first public housing project. The Housing Act 1919 placed a statutory obligation on local authorities to build where there was a recognised, quantifiable housing need. As a result, housing for families was vigorously promoted (Norris and Redmond, 2005).

An examination of the Irish Constitution of 1937 gives considerable insight into the conceived role for women by the government in supporting the greater good of the country. Constitutional rights are largely perceived to complement a liberalist welfare regime within western social science discourse. But the rights in the Irish constitution are radically different from the universal freedom rights advocated by Peter King (2003). For example, Article 40.6.1 purports to *"guarantee freedom of speech" but that this speech may not be used to undermine "public order or morality or the authority of the State".* Furthermore, the constitution explicitly prohibits the publication of *"blasphemous, seditious, or indecent matter".*

Arguably, the constitution reflects the era in which it was written but nonetheless, it is explicit in its promotion of the unpaid role of women in supporting traditional notions of the family. As a result, Article 4.1.makes highly uncomfortable reading from a feminist perspective: *"The State recognises the family as the natural primary and fundamental unit group of Society, and as a moral institution possessing inalienable and imprescriptible rights, antecedent and superior to all positive law".*

2 The State, therefore, guarantees to protect the family, its constitution and authority, as the necessary basis of social order and as indispensable to the welfare of the Nation and the State.

2. 1 In particular, the State recognises that ***by her life within the home, woman gives to the State a support without which the common good cannot be achieved.***

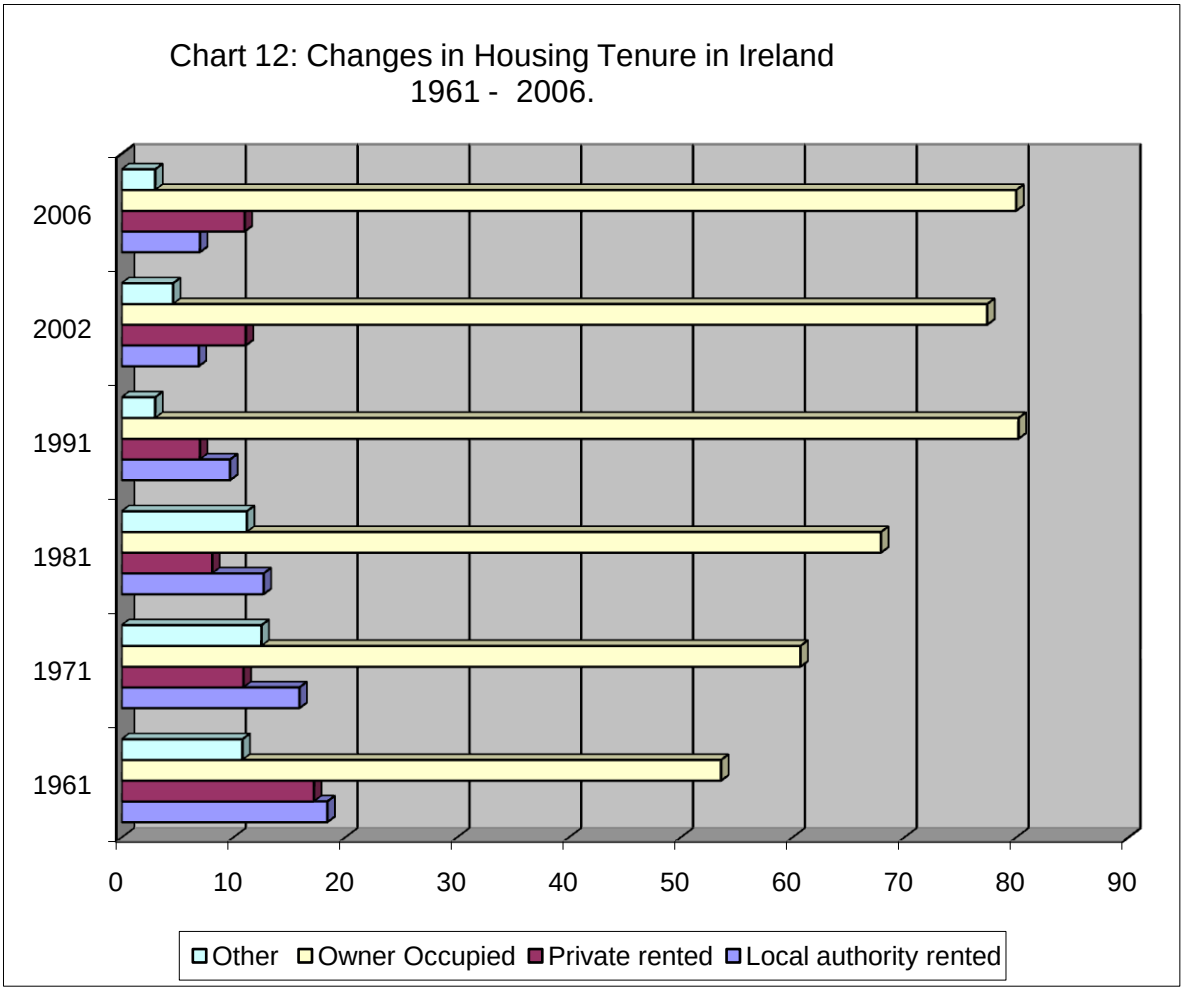
2.2 The State shall, therefore, endeavour to ensure that ***mothers shall not be obliged by economic necessity to engage in labour to the neglect of their duties in the home.***

(Author's emphasis).

Therefore not only did women's inequality remain unaddressed, women were explicitly characterised by the state as subordinate to men and not expected not to engage in paid employment.

As in England and France (the latter to a lesser degree), the dominance of homeownership has emerged in the last century and the private rented sector and social housing sector have become more marginalized in line with government policy. A series of radical land reforms to restore land to tenanted farmers were introduced in the 1900s in the wake of the famine. These reforms, alongside highly generous government subsidies to encourage homeownership, resulted in Ireland's exceptional levels of owner occupation (see Power, 1993). Successive Irish governments have also encouraged the commodification of the social housing sector. Legislation to promote the purchase of local authority dwellings was first introduced in 1919 before the formation of the Irish Free State (Oxley and Van der Heijden, 2009). The legislation has been consistently amended since this time with tenant purchase schemes available in rural areas from 1936 and in urban areas from 1966 (Norris and Redmond, 2005). Further incentives for those tenants wishing to exercise the right to buy were introduced by the Housing Act 1988 resulting in 15 per cent decrease of social housing (116, 270 to 98,395 units) between 1988 and 1996 (O' Sullivan, 2008).

As Chart 12 shows, homeownership has triumphed over social housing as Ireland's preferred housing type.



Irish Council for Social Housing, (2009).

State homelessness responsibilities may be explicitly linked back to health authorities in the Republic of Ireland. The first piece of legislation to enshrine rights for homeless households was the Health Act 1951 which placed a duty on health authorities to provide emergency accommodation for those who were literally roofless. The involvement of health authorities remains a crucial part of Ireland homelessness system and more importantly, led to a tendency to characterise Irish homelessness as a pathology until the late early 1980s when the research agenda shifted to more institutional causes. One source suggests that the voluntary sector hostels perpetuated homelessness amongst their

residents by reinforcing values which would keep them institutionalised (Norris and Redmond, 2007).

Local authorities are now the lead agency in homelessness services as a result of the implementation of the Housing Act 1988 but health and housing exclusion remain inextricably linked in Ireland. Medical professionals specialising in alcohol and substance abuse are prevalent amongst homelessness support services continue to be strongly associated with both Ireland's refuge and mainstream hostel network. The research undertaken for this thesis has demonstrated the characteristics of Irish homelessness services to give disproportionate credibility and legitimacy, relative to the two other case study countries, to women's homelessness services which focus on health issues, notably drug, alcohol and general mental health.

Analysis of the quantitative data has shown that in Cork, whilst only 27 per cent of the homelessness professionals interviewed associated drugs and alcohol abuse with homelessness in both men and women, the figure for just women was more than three time higher recorded at 73 per cent.

Drugs and alcohol abuse as a reason for homelessness amongst men and women did not feature at all in Lyon and applied to only 13 per cent of those interviewed in Leeds.

This finding demonstrates the way in which medical approaches to homelessness impact on perceived triggers of homelessness by professionals working in the field.

Ireland's homelessness policies have also become embedded in anti-poverty strategies, an approach which reflects Ireland's propensity to model its welfare policies on European approaches. Models of homelessness policy are largely based on the European Union's National Anti-Poverty Strategy approach

introduced in 1997 designed to reduce poverty by 2010. As a result, housing (NB not housing *exclusion*) is considered alongside a range of other variables such as poverty, education, employment and health. In keeping with its commitment to the European model, the European Typology on Homelessness and Housing Exclusion (ETHOS) developed by FEANTSA is now the principal definition of homelessness used in Ireland (see FEANTSA 2007). The result has been the formation of interdisciplinary teams to assess the nature and extent of the problem (Department of the Environment, Heritage and Local Government, 2007).

Whilst England's feminists were becoming increasingly vocal about domestic violence, Ireland's feminist movement in the 1960s was more firmly focused on issues relevant to the way in which Catholicism was seen as suppressing women as a group. Issues such as abortion and contraception were frequently debated (the former is still illegal in Ireland although the law does not preclude women from travelling elsewhere to have abortions). Significantly, Ireland's leading homelessness voluntary sector organisation, the Simon Community, was established during the 1960s. The first Simon Community was formed in 1969 and was set up by Franciscan monks who were working with the poor on the banks of the River Liffey in Dublin (Merchant Quay Ireland, 2009). But the organisation itself is nondenominational (Norris and Redmond, 2007). Nonetheless, Christian morality continues to feature in Ireland's homelessness systems today and the composition of interviewees for this thesis demonstrates the importance of Christian organisations in Ireland's social policy activities (see Appendix H). Images of male homelessness dominated in the media and subsequent policy responses of government until 1980s. But at the same time, the Catholic Church played a pivotal role in awareness raising around women's homelessness. The research undertaken by Sr Stanislaus Kennedy published in 1985 based on Dublin as a case study city spoke of how women were *"trapped in a cycle of homelessness which is very difficult for them to break. There are many factors mitigating against their breaking this cycle, the main one being their poverty."*

(Kennedy, 1985, page 174).

Kennedy went on to found Focus Point, a voluntary sector organization for homeless groups which later became Focus Ireland, now the leading voluntary sector organization for the homeless in Ireland. Kennedy remains the president of the organization today (Focus Ireland, 2009). In the present day, a range of hostel type accommodation is available for homeless people in the Republic of Ireland, mainly provided by the voluntary sector. Some of this accommodation is available on a nightly, usually first-come, first served basis while some is used as transitional or long-term accommodation. Voluntary bodies operate accommodation for homeless people throughout the country; these include the St. Vincent de Paul Society (in Dublin, Cork, Galway, Limerick, Waterford and other locations), the Simon Community (in Dublin, Cork, Galway and Dundalk), the Salvation Army (several locations in Dublin), the Iveagh Trust, Focus Ireland (in Dublin). In the Dublin area, the Dublin Corporation and the Eastern Regional Health Authority also operate hostel accommodation. Bed and breakfast accommodation is used when other accommodation is unavailable or unsuitable and there no discernible attempt has been made by the Irish government to eradicate its use.

Drudy and Punch's (2004) snapshot review of the Republic's housing system is deeply critical of the Irish government's relentless promotion of homeownership achieved through providing generous subsidies, supporting self build and lack of planning regulation, notably in rural parts of the country. The authors point to the way in which the role of property was exploited by a country desperate to develop its lack lustre economy to the detriment of the promotion of housing based on need (social housing) rather than the ability to pay. Drudy's (2007) highly insightful critique of the increasing philosophical and ideological emphasis on homeownership stresses the loss of assessments of housing need as a principal driver for housing allocation and consumption in Ireland. Ireland's historically low interest rates may have made owner occupation an attractive

option for a large segment of the population. Only time will tell whether the impact of the economic recession 2008/09 will moderate the Irish dream of homeownership, a dream which has already eluded many and, as this thesis has demonstrated, single parent families. One of the Cork homelessness managers who participated in the semi-structured interviews pointed to the way in which becoming a home owner is unattainable for the majority of women who have to use hostel accommodation:

"Buying a house is very difficult for people. It's difficult enough if you're working, sure, I can't see people coming from a hostel to buying…people tend to use the social housing sector".

Outreach Worker, female, local authority.

Other schemes such as the shared ownership scheme (similar to England's "Homebuy" scheme and the local authority mortgage scheme) have increasingly featured as a route to owner occupation. But one refuge manager interviewed for the thesis remained far from convinced that these schemes directly benefited the female residents in the hostel she managed:

"There are some schemes where private developers have to build affordable homes which are then sold far below the market value. They do this in partnership with the county council. But that is a very recent thing and still not very widespread here. But these properties are not really an option for single mothers on rent allowance".

Such criticisms accord with published critiques of the Celtic Tiger economy and its over reliance on neoclassical, unregulated ideological principles (Kirby, 2002). In his critique of the implementation of the neoclassical liberalist economic approaches, Kirby provides persuasive evidence to show that welfare state services have failed to provide the safety net for those households who were unable or disabled from riding the crest of the property wave. More

poignantly, Kirby's critique asserts that the welfare state in the Republic of Ireland acquiesced to the emergence of a poor class following Ireland's unprecedented economic success by failing to support those groups who became increasingly socially and economically excluded. One of these groups is lone parents. In addition, demand far social housing in Ireland far exceeds supply. In 1996, the number of households assessed in housing need and registered on waiting lists was recorded as 27,000. By 1999, this figure had risen by 45 per cent to 39, 176 (DELG, 2002a and 2002b). Statistics from 2008 show that some 56,000 people are now on waiting lists, a level of need not seen since the 1960s in Ireland (Finnernan, 2008). Although a relatively small number of social housing dwellings are allocated to homeless households in the Republic of Ireland each year (only 500 – 600 each year) the majority of these were offered to lone parent households (DELG, 2002a and 2002b; DELG 2007). In 2009, the vast majority of applicants on Ireland social housing waiting lists are lone parents with a female head of household, further evidence of the changing nature of the role of the family in Ireland (Mc Carthy, 2009). Yet social housing new builds have not substantially increased to reflect this changing demographic. At the same time, Ireland's small amount of social housing has become increasingly residualised, particularly in urban areas as a result of the tenant purchase scheme and lack of government investment (Nolan *et al*, 1998).

This is affirmed by the gender analysis of social housing applicants carried out by the National Social and Economic Forum (NSEF) (2002) which pointed to the lack of independent economic resources commanded by women in the Republic of Ireland as being the principal impediment to acquiring high quality accommodation. The NSEF study identified three interrelated factors which perpetuated women's lack of economic power in the Irish context. These are: low levels of labour market engagement; dependency on welfare benefits and "male to male" transfer of property in principally the agricultural sector.

Significantly, there has been an increase in the number of people who have applied for social housing who are in receipt of a part-time income, thereby representing a departure in the profile of social housing tenants largely wholly dependent on state benefits (Irish Council for Social Housing, 2004). This suggests that the private market is unable to provide an adequate supply of affordable housing so that people in part-time work are forced to look to the social housing sector for assistance.

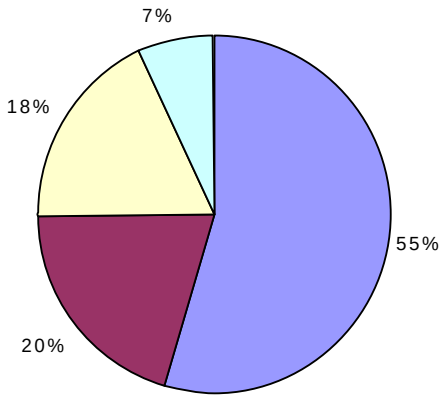
Ireland was assigned the welfare typology of corporate conservatism by Esping Andersen. The overall welfare system remains primitive when compared to that of England. On the one hand, homeownership acquired through the free market system contains all the hallmarks of a country enamoured of neoliberalist principles. But Ireland's unprecedented economic growth and subsequent houisng boom during the Celtic Tiger period of the 1990s. This reflects research evidence from the English case study which demonstrates how women are further disadvantaged during a housing boom. The dominance of owner occupation in Ireland has adversely impacted on women's housing opportunities. Housing equality should represent another dimension of the broad liberalist agenda but there is no explicit right to housing for single women or lone parents as in the English and more recently French case study. Research evidence has shown that Ireland's conservative welfare system is insufficiently responsive to women's housing requirements. Furthermore, homelessness services are dominated by organizations linked to the Catholic Church which arguably limit their response to homeless women, particularly single parents, given the endurance of the traditional role of the family and the staying power of the sanctity of marriage within Catholicism.

4.4 France

France shares Esping-Andersen's welfare Ireland's welfare regime identity of conservative corporatism. Yet the two countries differ substantially in their overall approach to housing and homelessness policies from a feminist perspective. France has the lowest level of owner occupation of all three case

study countries included in this comparative analysis recorded at just 55 per cent (Chart 13). The proportion of private rented housing almost matches that of the social housing stock (20 per cent and 18 per cent respectively). The French housing system is significantly less dependent on the owner occupied sector, the private sector remains regulated by robust rent controls.

Chart 13: Housing Tenure in France 2004



Adapted from Ball (2004).

France's overall approach to welfare emerged from *solidarism*, the political movement which promoted the interrelated values of an approach based on mutual assistance, shared risk, common actions and social cohesion (Spicker, 1993). Other commentators have pointed to the enduring relevance of the legacy of *liberté, égalité, fraternité* stemming the French Revolution. For example, Boge and Leira (2000) described France's approach to welfare as an active republican approach (as distinct from England's arguably more passive

liberalism or Ireland's broad conservative liberalism) alongside a political stance which advanced public virtues.

France developed state housing later than the two other countries reviewed in this research. The *Loi Loucheur* 1928 was the first explicit piece of legislation to develop social housing at the national level by promoting *Habitations a Bon Marché* (HBM - cheap government housing). The equivalent legislation in England and Ireland referred explicitly to the provision of housing for the working classes. But crucially in France, the *Loi Loucher* was meant to promote the construction of housing for middle class Parisennes. Crucially, this aligned the social housing sector with more affluent groups under the banner of municipal socialism. The development of the HBMs in the first instance was largely confined to the outskirts of Paris (Haine, 2006).

The French constitution of 1946 contrasts sharply with the Irish equivalent from October 1946. This extract from the French constitution shows how mothers and children were explicitly placed at the centre of the discourse around social protection measures by affirming that the government *"shall …guarantee to all, notably to children mothers and elderly workers, protection of their health, material security, rest and leisure. All people, who by virtue of their age, physical or mental condition or economic situation, are incapable of working, shall have the right to receive suitable means of existence from society."*

(Cited in Loison, 2007, page 2).

In the post World War two period, the French government introduced *Habitations a Loyer Moderées* (HLMs) in 1950 with local authorities as enablers and purchasers. Critically, HLMs are means tested which sets them apart from their English and Irish social housing equivalents. Occupants are therefore expected to move should their financial circumstances improve. Power (2003) has pointed to the exceptional level of HLM build in the late 1950s and 1960s in France when from 1956 onwards, more than 300,000 new properties were built

annually. At this time, the government turned its attention to the development of *Zones à Urbaniser en Priorité* (ZUPs) to promote "planned communities". During this tranche of housing development, government policy encouraged the birth of children to fortify the country against any future attacks (Lewis, 1993). As a result, notions of *le natalitié* have became enmeshed in France's welfare approach as part of the collective good. Feminist commentators such as Orloff (1996) have highlighted how the French conservative corporatist regime actively promotes motherhood and paid women workers, an approach which is operationalised by the generous provision of financial and health support for mothers and their children alongside the promotion of employment opportunities. This accentuates the corporate dimension of the welfare typology. To further incentivise the corporate sector, the French government heavily subsidises employers in the form of family allowances for distribution amongst both male and female employees. Yet French women only obtained the right to work without their husband's permission in 1969. This suggests that broad approaches to support *la natalitié* are more to do with the protection of social cohesion and social stability than the promotion of an overt liberalist rights agenda designed to support real gender equality. Despite this (or perhaps because of this), this approach has had the dual effect of stimulating the economy and enabling women to take up paid employment (Pendersen, 2000). This demonstrates another distinguishing characteristic of the way in which corporate sector was distinctly managed by French government as a means of influencing central welfare objectives and particularly in sustaining the model of the family. It is this approach which sets France apart from England and Ireland. But some commentators have suggested that this tactic is counter productive in that it creates a gender neutral environment which may undermine homelessness resources for women with children. Tartanville (2000) persuasively argues that many women are forced stay in shelters without their children as French welfare policy has not adequately addressed the changing nature of the family to adequately address lone parents who are homeless.

Mass house building in England was highly influenced by pioneering Swiss/French Le Corbusier to whom many attribute the notion of high rise, tower block housing. The French architect Marcel Leds was also highly influential. The Le Corbusien dream of highrise housing as efficient "machines for living" was imported enthusiastically into England but much less so in Ireland (exceptionally, the Ballymun estate in Dublin comprised almost exclusively high rise build but many have now been demolished following vigorous regeneration in the last decade). The Le Corbusien the vision became tainted when public opinion began to sway against high rise housing in the 1960s, fuelled by allegations of defective construction and mismanagement of the large scale housing stock. By the late 1960s, the demography of HLM occupants had begun to shift as more affluent households fled social housing to be replaced by groups which were becoming increasingly marginalized and further dependent on the state supported housing system. As Power (1993) noted, lone parent families (*familles monoparentale*) featured heavily amongst such marginalized groups despite income from state benefits. To address poverty amongst lone parents, the French government introduced single parents benefit in 1977. Unlike England, lone parents were never became demonised or a target for punitive benefit measures. Millar and Rowlingson's (2001) account of French social policy reports that the lone parent benefit was criticised amongst right wing circles but that no action was ever taken to modify their benefit entitlement.

Although the events of *Mai 68* were highly significant in prompting social protection measures based on both solidarity and equality, this did not result in the promotion of rights for homelessness households as in the English case study. The protests orchestrated by *classes dangeureuses* did signal a substantial shift in social welfare policy from the prevailing Conservative morality to an era which focused more on broad equality and solidarity measures. As in England, the feminist movement in France gathered momentum in the 1960s (Bourg, 2007). But inequality on the grounds of gender was not equated with lack of capital wealth gained through property ownership (although in England, this was to emerge two decades later at the height of

Thatcherism). Homelessness amongst women in France was not therefore were viewed as an area which warranted further social protection measures at this time. Events of *Mai 68* did eventually give rise to the introduction of the Winter Plan Against Poverty 1987, a strategy which resulted in the provision of emergency hostels in each department in France. (Firdion and Marpsat, 2003). These provisions were later strengthened by Social Exclusion Act 1998 which provided financial assistance principally for young unemployed, homeless people (Vranken, 2005). But, despite France's post war commitment to *la natalité,* women were not mentioned explicitly mentioned as a distinct area of concern for social policy. Subsequent legislation, notably the Quillot Act 1982 and the Anti – Exclusion Act 1998 was sufficiently vague to allow local authorities to do very little to alleviate the suffering of those suffering from housing exclusion. Although a welcome development, the *Loi Besson* 1990 failed to create enforceable right to housing for homeless households in France but rather gave rise to a broad duty to include poorly housed in housing plans managed at the municipal level. In this respect, France and Ireland share broad similarities although France has since categorically moved towards the implementation of an enforceable right to housing through the implementation of the first phase of *Loi DALO* of December 2008. Social cohesion measures became embedded in the *Loi Solidarité et Renouvellement Urbain* (solidarity and urban renewal) which was implemented in 2000 broadly reflecting England's National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal 1998. Under this legislation, French municipalities are required to let a minimum of 20 per cent of their stock to those defined as in housing need.

4. 5 Most Likely "Move On" Accommodation For Homeless Women

The homelessness managers interviewed for the thesis were asked to comment on the most likely form of tenure for single women and women with children following a period in temporary accommodation.

Analysis of the 45 quantitative survey data has revealed that all respondents in all three case study cities reported that women and lone parents were either likely or very likely to move into social housing following a period of temporary accommodation.

Private rented accommodation was most frequently considered as a likely option by respondents in Lyon (84 per cent), followed by Leeds (14 per cent) then Cork (just 7 per cent).

None of the respondents in Leeds and Cork considered it likely or or very likely that women moving from hostels and refuges would become homeowners. But this applied to 14 per cent of those interviewed in

4. 6 Social Housing As "Move On" Accommodation

The research for the thesis has demonstrated that the social housing sector remains pivotal to women with or without children moving from refuges and hostels into permanent accommodation. This finding emphasises the importance of ensuring that sound relationships exist between hostel providers and social housing landlords in supporting women to make this transition in all three countries regardless of the dominant homelessness system. The point was well made by one voluntary sector homelessness manager in Leeds during the semi-structured interviews who said:

"I'll be honest, I'd say 95 per cent would view social housing as their move on accommodation from a hostel environment….where they perceive they can access accommodation. It's financial, if they could rent a nice flat down by the river, then they would rent a nice flat down by the river".

Local Services Manager, male, voluntary sector housing support organisation.

The follow up interviews with the Leeds respondents also highlighted high levels of critical awareness about the way in which social housing allocations negatively impacted on the women moving into social housing from refuge accommodation. A recurring theme was the implementation of Choice Based Lettings in 2003, an initiative which is not yet in place in Ireland or France:

"There have been some changes as regards how housing is allocated in Leeds under the Choice Based Lettings system. Theoretically, if you get someone from Choice Based Lettings in and pin them up against a wall, they'll say that there is still discretion on the system….about where the applicant goes. It's not as crystal cut as you might initially think".

Strategic Housing Business Officer, female, local housing authority.

"You have discretion as to which houses you let out as your management lets (under Choice Based Lettings) *which could be a terrible property or a very nice property – it still goes on. There are still opportunities for discriminatory practice."*

Local Services Manager, male, voluntary sector housing support organisation.

One of the local authority managers pointed to the lack of flexibility in the system when dealing with rehousing applications from victims of domestic violence:

"Choice Based Lettings does not respond as well as the old system did in cases of domestic violence. Women who wanted to flee used to be able to contact housing officers and secure accommodation in a day or two. That's no longer possible. It tends to take more moves to go through the system. They go to a B & B, then a hostel, then a different property, then on elsewhere. Moving once is bad enough, moving three times within three months is hell".

Strategic Housing Business Officer, male, local housing authority.

The lack of responsiveness within Choice Based Lettings system was also identified by one of the voluntary sector homelessness managers:

"There's something about need and access that Choice Based Lettings hasn't got right. Choice Based Lettings is just a way of letting something and it's not designed to act quickly."

Local Services Manager, male, voluntary sector housing support organisation.

In Cork, a similar portrayal of social housing as move-on accommodation emerged during the semi-structured interviews. One of the local government respondents suggested that housing aspirations were very low for those women leaving hostels and refuges:

"For a lot of these women and men, local authority housing is as far as they'll every go. They consider council property as their own home. That is where they are aspiring to".

Outreach Worker, female, local authority.

Another local authority manager described how women were eligible for social housing but that stock was limited. A voluntary sector manager pointed to the council as the main option but said that *"the wait is very long for most people….but it is the main source of move on accommodation….. But there are*

problems in terms of how long you would have to wait. You can be waiting any time up to a year".

Hostel Supervisor, male, voluntary sector.

In Lyon, primary data on effectiveness of the private rented sector was limited but one voluntary sector homelessness manager pointed to the overall shortage of affordable housing:

"En France, il y'a une crise générale de logements à prix abordable, qu'ils soient privés ou HML."

"In France there is a general crisis of homes at affordable prices whether they are private or HLM".

Manager (Male) of municipality refuge for women with children, Lyon.

4. 7 Homeownership As "Move On" Accommodation for Homeless Women

Conversely, none of the homelessness managers in either Leeds or Cork believed that moving into owner occupied accommodation was realistic option for women leaving temporary accommodation. England, Ireland and France demonstrate an ideological commitment to homeownership, including the commodification of the social housing sector albeit to varying degrees and for different political motives. But this ideological emphasis disproportionately disadvantages women who have previously been homeless. One of the voluntary sector homelessness managers summarised the position well in the semi-structured interview:

"Owner occupation is impossible for these families. It's not even a dream, an aspiration for the families. I don't think I have ever come across a family who own their own house after leaving emergency accommodation - ever."

Social Care Manager, female, Sure Start, social services.

This point was reaffirmed by one of the local authority homelessness managers interviewed for the study who pointed to unaffordable house prices even in areas which were not considered desirable:

"House price increases in Leeds , even in the areas not traditionally regarded as desirable, has meant that home ownership is unattainable. Even if you are a two income household, getting a foot on the ladder is really difficult".

Strategic Housing Business Manager, female, local housing authority.

4.8 Private Rented Accommodation As Move On Accommodation For Homeless Women

In Lyon, respondents were most likely to suggest that women may use the private rented sector as move on accommodation. Interestingly, France's private rented sector constitutes 20 per cent of housing tenure and is substantially larger than England and Ireland's (11 per cent and 10 per cent respectively). Furthermore, the private rented sector in France is subsidised by government loans and in some instances, landlords must use government set criteria when selecting tenants (Oxley and Smith, 1996). The private sector in France must therefore respond more effectively to government agenda and therefore is subject to more government regulation than its English and Irish equivalent. The French approach demonstrates the potential of this sector to provide an alternative to both social and owner occupied housing. Central government in England has sought to use private sector leasing schemes as a substitute for bed and breakfast and hostel accommodation but the private rented sector remains largely driven liberal economic forces. In the follow up interviews, two of the Leeds respondents pointed to the value of using the private rented sector as an alternative to social housing:

"What we have been doing is using the private rented sector more in the last few months. It makes sense to do this. People rehoused under the legislation want to have more choices in their accommodation. We have a very effective private sector leasing scheme and the City Council has its own landlord accreditation scheme – we really need to develop this. Currently, we can rejig subsidy arrangements to accommodate this".

Strategic Housing Business Officer, male, local housing authority.

"Often women move to a good quality private rent and then don't want to leave there. Their children are settled in school and they get to know the area and the people who live there. We need to have access to future units of accommodation in the private rented sector to ensure that women have real choices – especially those with children".

Strategic Housing Business Manager, female, local housing authority.

Financial difficulties ranging from the initial damage deposit payment to paying rental costs not eligible for housing benefit were seen as major obstacles to developing the potential of the private rented sector by two of the respondents. Notions of free market choice were undermined by perceived deficits in social welfare payments:

"A lot of people can't get bonds…we're starting a bond scheme....for some people, we can pay half the bond for people….this helps to alleviate the poverty issue, if only a little".

Strategic Housing Business Officer, male, local housing authority.

"Some lone parents are prevented from using the private rented sector financially under current housing benefit rules, they would see this as prohibitive. Because there is no clear bond scheme in Leeds currently, coming

up with a month's rent is an impossibility. Damage deposits are obstructive. We can use a community care grants sometimes but you don't always get it. By the time you've applied and the panel has met and decided, the house will often have gone".

Local Services Manager, male, voluntary sector housing support organisation.

One unintended outcome of developing Leeds' private sector leasing scheme, according to one respondent, is the extent to which it leaves fewer private rented properties for the women and single parents leaving hostels:

"On paper, the private sector leasing scheme looks brilliant…. but one of the unintended outcomes of the (local authority) *private sector leasing scheme is that you are actually soaking up the cheap private rented market in Leeds - the council has around 300 properties involved in this scheme. So this removes affordable private rented accommodation for families because it is being used as emergency provision".*

Local Services Manager, male, voluntary sector housing support organisation.

Tables 11, 12 and 13 provide summary data following analysis of the quantitative data from respondents by case study city on the most likely form of move on accommodation:

Table 11: Leeds: - Most Likely Move On Accommodation (% of Respondents).		
	Very likely or likely	Not likely/not at all likely
Public (social) housing	100	0
Private rented	14	86
Owner occupied	0	100
N = 45		

Table 12: Cork - Most Likely Move On Accommodation (% of Respondents).		
	Very likely or likely	Not likely/not at all likely
Public (social) housing	100	0
Private rented	7	93
Owner occupied	0	100
N = 45		

Table 13: Lyon - Most Likely Move On Accommodation (% of Respondents).		
	Very likely or likely	Not likely/ not at all likely
Public (social) housing	100	0
Private rented	84	16
Owner occupied	14	86
N = 45		

4.9 Aims of Social Housing: Women and Homelessness in England, Ireland and France

England, Ireland and France all began to promote public housing around the beginning of the twentieth century. France began its mass housing movement the latest of the three countries in 1928. Legislation to support public housing was firmly focused on the working classes in England and Ireland, thereby reinforcing notions of the male breadwinner model. Middle class, more affluent households were initially the intended consumers of state housing in France - this factor fundamentally distinguishes French social housing from the English and Irish model. But crucially, despite the origins of the social housing sector in each case study country, lone parents have emerged as one of the groups most likely to need and occupy public housing (Stephens *et al,* 2003). Even though Ireland has the smallest proportion of social housing and no explicit right to housing for homeless groups, lone parents remain over represented in the state housing sector. Lone parents also emerged as a distinct group of HLM occupants in France where an explicit right to housing has recently been introduced. In England, where homeless rights exist, lone parents have also emerged as a key consumer of local authority and housing association accommodation.

Research evidence has demonstrated how single women and lone parents are disadvantaged during housing booms, underpinned by the principles of neoliberalist economic such as in Ireland in the aftermath of the Celtic Tiger economy and in England in the wake of Thatcherism. But inthe French case study, housing tenure choice appears to shield single women and lone parents from the ill effects of unfettered liberalism. France arguably demonstrates the weakest commitment to the male breadwinner model when compared to England and Ireland, manifested through its promotion of measures to support dual earning households. By implication, the dual earning model mitigates the risk of housing exclusion which may arise in the event of redundancy or other reasons for loss of income as a result of illness or disability. Moreover, the French system has a more diverse tenure base which affords further flexibility

when faced with a housing crisis. Evidence from the study supports the notion that *la natalitié* may impacted on the way in which motherhood is posited to promote the social cohesion agenda rather than as a means to promote equality. Yet the French welfare approach continues to promote a range of measures which recognise the value of unpaid labour. These include generous maternity benefits, after school provision for young children and other support institutions provided directly by the government or non-government organizations.

The research undertaken for this thesis has revealed a higher level of tolerance towards homelessness amongst men and women in Cork relative to Leeds and Lyon. Just under three quarters (74 per cent) of homelessness professionals who participated in the quantitative study believed that both the government and the voluntary sector was doing enough to alleviate the problem. But just 21 per cent of those interviewed in Lyon considered that the government was doing enough and 34 per cent believed that the voluntary sector was responded adequately. A third (34 per cent) of those interviewed in Leeds felt that both the government and the voluntary sector were doing enough to tackle homelessness. It seems likely that the historically low level of intervention in alleviating homelessness and in the provision of social housing may have moderated respondents' expectations in Ireland and further research is need to explore this proposition further. But what is clear is that the Irish respondents were much less inclined to be disparaging about the government in respect of inadequate homelessness provision. This suggests a different social contract between individuals and the welfare state with a corresponding lesser role of housing social policy change.

4.10 Feminist Review of Homelessness Systems By Case Study Country.

Tables 14, 15 and 16 provide summaries of the homelessness systems of each country based on a scenario of a woman on state benefits with children fleeing domestic violence faced with the prospect of street homelessness. These summaries highlight the overall approach of each country towards victims of domestic violence; identify the relevant legislation; reviews the relative importance of any prevention of homelessness agenda and outline the role of statutory and voluntary agencies. A "typical" housing outcome is also given.

Table 14: Feminist Review of the Homelessness System in England.	
Overall approach.	Highly strategic homelessness approach embedded in legislation which involves partnerships with a range of statutory authorities, notably housing authorities, social services, health authorities and (increasingly) education authorities. Historically relationships between housing and social services have been problematic. Roles between voluntary and statutory sector now better defined through joint protocols and legislation e.g. Housing Act 1996 Part 7 and Children Act 1989. Victims of domestic violence may seek assistance from any local authority of their choice in the country and cannot be referred back to the area where they originally lived. Applicants in this group will be considered as being in "priority need" under homelessness law if domestic violence has either taken place or the person has received threats from someone likely to carry out those threats (the latter criterion since 2002). A stay in temporary accommodation is not a requirement under this route and applicants may stay at friends or family under the "homeless at home" approach and be awarded the same priority status as though they had stayed in temporary accommodation. Legislation for injunctions/exclusions orders since 1976. Discharge of statutory housing function mainly though local housing authorities but increasingly through housing associations. Priority is given on social housing waiting list to those rehoused through the homeless route. The voluntary sector plays a key role in the provision of temporary accommodation both either emergency or interim housing. Packages of support for victims of domestic violence are provided by key relevant agencies. These packages are frequently negotiated with the client with roles and responsibilities and protected by protocols. the advent of the liberalist "personalisation" agenda in housing support services allows those in receipt of housing support funding to play a more active role in determining how the money should be spent.
Relevant legislation.	National Assistance Act 1948. Housing Act 1985 Part 3. Housing Act 1996 Part 7. Homeless Persons Act 1977. Children Act 1989. Homelessness Act 2002.

Preventative agenda.	Introduction of sanctuary schemes in 2001 whereby one room in the victim's home is rendered safe. Exclusion orders and other forms of injunctions available through the criminal justice system. Local authorities are instructed not to insist for the successful granting of such orders before providing housing assistance. Preventative duty enshrined in Homelessness Act 2002.
Role of statutory organizations.	Local housing authorities lead in the provision of homelessness services. The authority's homelessness strategies are produced following consultation with key statutory and voluntary groups through the formation of dedicated homelessness forum. Local authorities also lead in the management and delivery of the Supporting People programme which provides refuge or other hostel accommodation for victims of domestic violence.
Role of voluntary sector.	Buoyant (yet reportedly still inadequate) voluntary sector network to support victims of domestic violence frequently through the provision of comprehensive support packages. The lead voluntary sector organization is Woman's Aid. Emergence of the refuge movement closely associated with feminist movement in 1960s where debates focused on rights discourse. Refuges and in particular those managed by Women's Aid are recognized expert hostel providers. Local authorities frequently refer victims of domestic violence to refuges under the homeless legislation. Victims of domestic violence may also self refer to refuges or other projects, notably to Woman's Aid but also other refuges.
Typical outcomes.	If assistance is sought through the homelessness route, the law required authorities to make one reasonable offer of accommodation only. Authorities may exercise discretion in this regard and make further offers. Local authority and housing associations provide permanent accommodation. The private rented sector may also be used but authorities need to make clear to applicants that security of tenure is substantially less than the social sector. The period of temporary accommodation ranges from 12 weeks to 2 years depending on where the applicant wishes to be rehoused.

Table 15: Feminist Review of Homelessness Systems in Ireland.	
Overall approach.	Low level of state intervention historically in the provision of homelessness services. There is no explicit right to housing for women fleeing domestic violence but these groups are eligible for assistance under the Housing Act 1988. The Act does not provide an explicit right to housing but does afford powers (not duties) for local housing and health authorities to provide accommodation to priority groups. Victims of domestic violence are one of those groups. More strategic measures are supported by the social partnerships model. Anti-poverty strategies feature as a vehicle for tacking homelessness, reflecting the importance of European approaches to homelessness which have emerged since the 1990s but these approaches are largely not enforceable through legislation. Critically, domestic violence is not mentioned as a discrete area in *"Homelessness – An Integrated Strategy"* which focuses primarily on adult homelessness (DELG, 2002b). Measures to deal with domestic violence are frequently lead by health professionals such as Royal College of Irish Surgeons. The lack of statutory duty has meant homelessness policies focus on addressing rooflessness. As a result, family type and refuge accommodation are short supply.
Relevant legislation.	Housing Act 1988
Preventative agenda.	The homelessness preventative agenda emerged in the mid 1990s but has not to date been enshrined in legislation. Domestic violence was not referred to in *"Homelessness – A Preventative Strategy"* (DELG, 2003). Legislation for "barring orders" (exclusion orders/injunctions) became consolidated in 1996.
Role of statutory organizations.	Local housing authorities and health authorities work in partnership to deliver homelessness services. Local authorities lead with bricks and mortar provision and health authorities with care and support services but respective roles need further clarification. Support in hostels frequently provided by health professionals.
Role of voluntary sector.	There exists a well established and well resourced voluntary sector supported by the Women's Aid network. Refuge accommodation also provided by NGOs with allegiances to religious, notably Catholic, institutions. Key players are St Vincent De Paul Society and the Simon Community, which remain overtly religious emergency accommodation providers. engaged in awareness raising around homelessness is Focus

	Ireland, another organisation which began as a religious group. The main voluntary sector social policy group. Voluntary sector resources are reportedly insufficient to meet demand.
Typical outcomes for victims of domestic violence.	Either self referred to refuge by referred to refuge directly and supported largely by health professionals. Application given priority for social housing but given that this tenure only comprises 9 per cent of total housing stock, waiting time may be very lengthy.

Table 16: Feminist Review of Homelessness Systems in France.	
Overall approach.	Dominance of social cohesion welfare framework. No explicit right to housing until the introduction of the *Loi DALO* in December 2008 which gives priority to lone parents but not victims of domestic violence.
Relevant legislation..	*Loi Besson* 1990 and *Loi DALO* 2008.
Preventative agenda	No explicit preventative agenda. Homelessness policy enshrined in housing plans at the municipal level.
Role of statutory organizations.	Municipality key agency in partnership with the voluntary sector. Municipality provides very limited accommodation for the homeless.
Role of voluntary sector.	*Centres d'Hébergement et de Réadaptation Sociale* (CHRS) provision of mother and children's homes. High proportion of women living in France's reception centres are mothers without their children.
Typical outcomes.	Offer of HML accommodation following period in temporary accommodation.

4.11 Perceptions of Nature and Extent of Homelessness in Leeds, Cork and Lyon.

In the study, respondents in the quantitative survey were initially asked to comment on their general perceptions of homelessness amongst men and women generally.

Analysis of the quantitative survey data showed that homelessness professionals in Lyon were most likely to suggest that homelessness was a problem amongst both men and women. This applied to 93 per cent of those interviewed. The equivalent figure for Leeds was 80 per cent and Cork was just 53 per cent.

Table 17 summarises responses on general perceptions of homelessness amongst men and women by case study city using the quantitative survey data:

Table 17: Perceptions of Homelessness in General as a Problem (% of Respondents).

	Leeds		Cork		Lyon	
	Frequency	Valid Percent	Frequency	Valid Percent	Frequency	Valid Percent
Major problem	13	80	8	53	14	93
Minor problem	1	7	6	40	1	7
Not a problem	1	7	0	0	0	0
Not a problem at all	1	7	1	7	0	0
N = 45						

France and Ireland were assigned the common welfare identity of conservative corporatism by Esping- Andersen and England the welfare regime label of liberalism. Yet the analysis of the interviewee responses revealed significant differences in perceptions of homelessness as a problem in the three case study cities. Respondents in Lyon were most likely to suggest that homelessness was a major problem amongst both men and women. This applied to 93 per cent of those interviewed. This was followed by Leeds (80 per cent), then Cork only 53 per cent of those interviewed.

One likely explanation for these findings is the extent to which levels of awareness are linked to the implementation of an enforceable right to housing which may further sensitize homelessness professionals to a more liberalist rights based agenda. Cork has no enforceable right to housing nor is there any apparent the political will to progress this liberalist agenda. In the case of Leeds, rights for homelessness people have been firmly embedded in the system for over three decades (since the implementation of the Homeless Persons Act 1977) and comprehensive, strategic measures exist to combat the problem, relative to the two other case study countries selected for this analysis. Yet despite these far reaching measures, homelessness remains a major problem in the minds of the Leeds homelessness professionals.

The timing of Lyon interviews coincided with a high profile media campaign in France which highlighted the need to introduce an enforceable right to housing. As a result of these campaigns, the *Loi DALO* was implemented in December 2008. It is therefore possible that this was at the forefront of the minds of the Lyon homelessness professionals who were interviewed. Further research could take the form of a longitudinal study with the same Lyon respondents following the full implementation of the *Loi DALO* to assess whether their views on homelessness as a problem have become moderated.

4.12 Overall Effectiveness of Homelessness Services

In the follow up interviews, respondents were asked to give their overall view on the effectiveness services for homeless households in each of the case study cities. The views of respondents in each of the three case study cities varied substantially. Whilst those interviewed in Lyon focused on the lack of housing support services, Cork interviewees generally voiced satisfaction regarding existing service level provision but did suggest an increased role for health related support services. By sharp contrast, the homelessness staff in Leeds demonstrated high levels of critical reflection as regards the effectiveness of services alongside an ability to empathise with both hostel residents and staff.

Cork- Overall Effectiveness of Homelessness Services

Interestingly, the research undertaken for the thesis from homelessness professionals in Cork pointed to an overall acceptance with local homelessness services. Emergency accommodation was viewed as adequate and no urgency to develop services for any needs groups. The recently published *"Homelessness – An integrated Strategy for Cork"* cites tenancy sustainment as one of its key objectives for 2009 - 2011(Cork City Council, 2009, page 14). Despite this recently published strategy, interdisciplinary working and explicit homeless prevention measures remain in their infancy. Data on homelessness is limited and there are no performance measures to assess levels of need. It is not surprising therefore to find that Cork's homelessness strategy 2009 – 2011 focuses on more fundamental areas including accurate data collation (note not analysis), the development of the City's homelessness forum and the continued vigorous promotion of mainstream health services in supporting the homeless. Crucially, the strategy is very much focused on adult single (not family or women with children) homelessness. There is an acknowledgment that further refuge accommodation is required (page 17) but the strategy recognizes the lack of quality data to support this proposed area of service development and does not make proposals as to how this gap in intelligence may be addressed.

In the research undertaken for this thesis, responses from those who participated in the semi-structured interviews from both the statutory and voluntary sector in Cork suggest an overall satisfaction with the level and nature of existing services and an unwillingness to adopt a more critical approach of local authority's s homelessness services:

"The Department here is very good really, quite ready to listen to anything we come up with, to find any gaps and to deal with it. I wouldn't say there were any real problems, you know. The foyer is the latest programme we're working with so we'll see how that goes".

Hostel Supervisor, male, voluntary sector.

"We manage fairly well with the hostels we have. There's always room for improvement but we're moving things along as best we can".

The Cork respondents demonstrated a clear commitment to the provision of homelessness services through the health board network, leading to a tendency to pathologise housing exclusion in the form of medically informed counselling as a principal delivery vehicle for housing support. As one NGO homelessness manager stated:

"We can help with the practical stuff but we also try to provide emotional support. We have, in our day centre, a mental health team on site with a consultant and a community psychiatric nurse. But there is a gap, I think, in terms of mental health services".

The one respondent who identified a policy deficit suggested that more night shelter type accommodation was required along with further hostel provision for people with alcohol dependency problems (although a number of respondents in the Leeds case study pointed to the gross inadequacies of this

accommodation type). This accommodation type was generally regarded as unsuitable for families or single parents:

"We've done a fair amount of accommodation here in Cork for the homeless. We don't do too badly. But we do need more shelters and more accommodation for people with alcohol problems. There is a proposal to open a wet hostel but that's a little way off yet."

Senior Homelessness Manager, female, local authority.

Another respondent spoke of the way in which Cork's homelessness problem was eclipsed by that of Dublin, the capital city:

"In Cork, we generally feel that there is adequate provision. Compared to Dublin, now, that's a different story, different place, much larger, much bigger problem".

Hostel Manager, female, voluntary sector.

With the increasing prominence of social partnerships, unprecedented economic growth and the enduring role health authorities alongside motifs of Catholicism, Ireland's welfare typology has changed in recent years. There remains no explicit right to housing despite the advent of other forms of liberalist economic reforms manifested by the advent of the Celtic Tiger economy in the early 1990s. To reflect these changes, this thesis therefore proposes that Esping-Andersen's welfare classification of conservative corporatism is revised to ***neoconservative, liberalist moderated by the social partnerships model.***

Lyon - Overall Effectiveness of Homelessness Services

Significantly, five out of the six respondents in Lyon in the follow up interviews identified the lack of housing support as the main problem in the alleviation of homelessness (the remaining Lyon respondent pointed to the overall lack of affordable housing). The lack of housing support was therefore identified independent of professional expectations regarding what the homelessness system should deliver. The findings for Lyon suggest that there is a strong case for focusing on tenancy sustainment and other forms of housing support in Lyon for all homeless groups, notably through existing measures afforded by either the *Loi DALO* or the *Loi Solidarité et Renouvellement Urbain 2000* (Urban Regeneration Act 2000), as part of France's broader social cohesion agenda. Further research is required to determine the reasons behind this clear emphasis on housing support expressed by the Lyon respondents and in particular, the overall relevance of France's social cohesion agenda in influencing responses This could take the form on analysis of data on resettlement, particularly tenancy failure, following a period in temporary accommodation. Interviews with homeless people both in the hostel setting and in move - on accommodation would also serve to capture the value of introducing tenancy sustainment strategies.

The findings also demonstrate the value of introducing a statutory duty for municipalities to provide housing support as part of homelessness prevention strategies. This could be achieved by extending the duties of the new *Loi DALO* as part of a partnership between the voluntary and statutory sector. No strategic measures currently exist to promote homelessness strategic processes in France or Ireland (the latter to a much lesser degree). Furthermore, the research undertaken in Lyon strongly suggests that only informal measures exist to provide housing support. Further research is needed to establish whether this more informal support is available through family and friends or other institutions thereby militating against the institutional risk of homelessness in Lyon. The value of housing support was made succinctly by one NGO hostel manager one of the semi-structured interviews:

"Un logement n'est pas suffisant parce qu'il faut accompagner et soutenir ces personnes. Il faut qu'on les amène à trouver une autonomie et il faut les aider a reprendre la confiance. Il faut du temps".

.

"A home isn't enough. People need to be accompanied and supported when finding a home and also finding their independence and confidence. Time is needed".

Director, male, NGO women only hostel.

Another respondent pointed to the way in which the mere provision of housing alone did not address the principal reasons for someone's homelessness:

"Un logement seulement ne peut pas résoudre le problème car les raisons pour une perte de logement seront toujours présentes et si une personne n'a plus de confiance en soi."

"A home on its own will not resolve the problem because the reasons for the loss of accommodation are still there and if someone does not have self confidence".

Manager, female, NGO refuge for single women and women with children, Lyon.

The same respondent also highlighted the importance of finding work as part of housing support measures to boost self confidence:

"Il faut remonter le morale au même temps que trouver un logement. Il faut du travail et du temps pour résoudre ces problèmes".

"It's necessary to build morale at the same time as finding a home. It may be necessary to find work and to take time to resolve these problems".

Manager, (Female), NGO mixed hostel, Lyon.

With the dominance of the social cohesion agenda in France and the recent yet limited introduction of the right to housing, this thesis proposes that Esping – Andersen's welfare classification is revised to become a ***neoconservative liberalist model moderated by the social cohesion approach.***

4.13 Primary Triggers to Homelessness Amongst Men and Woman as a Problem in the Three Case Study Cities

Analysis of the quantitative data shows that mortgage arrears were seen to represent as great a risk to homelessness in Cork to men and women as poverty (both recorded as 87 per cent). Levels of owner occupation in Ireland are higher than the other two countries in this analysis but Cork contains well below the national average of homeowners recorded at 61 per cent in 2002 compared to the national Irish average of 80 per cent (Cork City Council, 2002). However, rapid house price inflation in the wake of the Celtic Tiger economy goes some way to explaining respondents concerns as regards mortgage repossession. By contrast, mortgage arrears as a perceived trigger to homelessness applied to 67 per cent of respondents in Lyon and just 40 per cent in Leeds [3]. The extent to which the dominance of anti-poverty strategies influenced responses here is worthy of further research. In particular, how effective overall are anti-poverty measures in tacking homelessness overall in Cork?

Respondents in Cork were also most likely to point to drug and alcohol abuse as a trigger to homelessness (27 per cent) compared to just 7 per cent in Leeds and none in Lyon. Discharge from institutions was identified as a trigger to homelessness by 60 per cent of respondents in both Cork and Lyon (60 per cent) but only 40 per cent in Leeds.

[3] Primary data was collated and analysed during spring and summer of 2007. This coincided with the beginning of the economic recession, fuelled by the sub prime mortgage market in the USA.

The main reasons for homelessness amongst both men and women were relationship breakdown with a partner and being asked to leave by family and friends (both identified by 100 per cent of those interviewed in Leeds). The Leeds homelessness professionals also pointed to poverty (93 per cent) and entering the country as a refugee (80 per cent). But in Lyon, 67 per cent of respondents ranked poverty, relationship breakdown and repossession as a result of mortgage arrears as primary reasons for homelessness.

Table 18: Primary Triggers to Homelessness By Case Study City (% of Respondents).

	Leeds		Cork		Lyon	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Poverty	93	7	87	13	67	33
Dependence on state benefits	73	27	67	33	40	60
Relationship/marital breakdown with partner	100	0	87	13	67	33
Being asked to leave by friends/ family	100	0	40	60	33	67
Domestic violence	60	40	30	70	40	60
Harassment from outside the home (former partner, neighbour)	50	50	33	67	47	53
Repossession caused by rent arrears	60	40	27	73	53	47
Repossession caused mortgage arrears	40	60	87	13	67	23
Repossession for other reasons e.g. landlords wants possession of property to re-let for higher rent	40	60	53	47	20	80
Drug/alcohol abuse	7	93	27	63	0	0
Discharge from institutions e.g. psychiatric hospital, prison or offenders centre	47	53	60	40	60	40
Having principal childcare responsibilities, thereby limiting employment opportunities	47	53	27	73	60	40
Being a single income household	67	33	33	67	13	87
Entering the country as a refugee or asylum seeker	80	20	7	93	53	47
Being a lone parent family as a result of relationship breakdown, domestic violence or bereavement	70	30	60	40	60	40
N = 45	15		15		15	

4.14 Policies of Statutory Organisations Concerned With the Alleviation and Prevention of Women's Homelessness

In England, high levels of awareness exist as regards the need to adopt holistic solutions to homelessness. Collaborative and interagency working is now the norm. The lead statutory organisation responsible for the prevention of homelessness is local housing authorities. Social services have historically clearly played a key role in England in the provision of family welfare services, a role which as further consolidated by the implementation of the Children Act 1989 and the Children (Leaving Care) Act 2000. Both acts place a duty on social services to secure accommodation for "children in need" which may include young homeless. The overlap between the respective responsibilities of housing and social service departments has been subject to scrutiny, in particular calls for roles and responsibilities to be more closely defined (Lewis, 2004). Health authorities also play a role in homelessness services but this is more marginal than in the Ireland case study. Comprehensive homelessness statistics maintained by local and national government in England and wide reaching performance targets monitor the implementation of statutory homelessness duties.

In Ireland, local housing authorities and health authorities adopt a dual responsibility in dispensing homelessness functions. Local housing authorities lead in respect of bricks and mortar and health professionals in follow up housing support services. But respective roles and responsibilities are not clearly defined. Social service departments play a more marginal role. Interdisciplinary working remains in its infancy despite recent calls to radicalise the system (see Makeroom's 2009 campaign). The Housing (Miscellaneous Provisions) Bill 2008 has failed to make the production of homeless action plans a statutory duty despite calls from Ireland campaigning sector.

In France, housing departments in municipalities play a key role in bricks and but do not generally work in partnerships with either other statutory services or the voluntary sector. A notable exception is the foyer network in France where

statutory and voluntary sector organisations work collaboratively to promote employment.

4.15 Policies of Voluntary Organisations Concerned With the Alleviation and Prevention of Women's Homelessness

England has a comprehensive network of voluntary sector organisations engaged with the prevention and alleviation of homelessness for all groups. In respect of women, the most important of these organisations is the Women's Aid network of specialist refuges which has around 400 specialist refuges in the country. Service levels agreements often exist between the statutory and voluntary sectors designed to facilitate the flow of temporary accommodation..

In Ireland, local authorities do not directly provide accommodation. The voluntary sector is the main provider of emergency accommodation. Hostels for women are located mainly in urban areas with the greatest number of resources concentrated in Dublin. Catholic or other religious groups are frequent providers and/or represented in the management structure of women's emergency housing, many of which receive state funding under the social partnership model.

In France, the voluntary sector is the main provider of accommodation for homeless households. Accommodation for victims of domestic violence is provided most commonly by *SOS Femmes Accueil* (SOS WOMEN in Distress).

4.16 Perception of Role of Government and the Voluntary Sector

The homelessness professionals in three cities were asked to comment on the extent to which they believed government intervention and voluntary sector provision were adequate in dealing with homelessness amongst both men and women. The findings show substantial differences between countries.

Analysis of the quantitative survey data showed that Cork respondents were least likely to levy criticism towards the government and the voluntary sector. Analysis of the quantitative survey data has clearly shown that Respondents in the Irish case study city were also most likely to suggest that both the government and the voluntary sector were doing enough to tackle homelessness generally (both recorded at 74 per cent). But only 21 per cent of the Lyon respondents thought that the government was doing enough and 34 per cent believed that the voluntary sector was responded adequately. A third (34 per cent) of those interviewed in Leeds felt that both the government and the voluntary sector were doing enough to tackle homelessness.

Table 19: Is the Government Doing Enough to Tackle Homelessness? (% of Respondents).

	Leeds	Cork	Lyon
Definitely	27	47	7
Is doing enough	7	27	14
Not doing enough	67	26	79
Total	100	100	100
N = 45			

How might such fundamental differences be explained in Cork and Lyon, two countries which were assigned the common welfare identity of conservative corporatism by Esping-Andersen? One explanation to explain why Cork respondents appeared satisfied with the role of the government is the extent to which the welfare state in Ireland remains primitive and the corresponding restricted role of the social housing sector, relative to Lyon. The expectations of homelessness managers are therefore very limited and may be largely based

on existing measures. It is entirely plausible that the role of health authorities in tackling homelessness in Ireland and the ensuing tendency to pathologies the problem has moderated homelessness professionals' views on the problem, resulting in a distorted perception of the effectiveness of health based solutions. The extent to which the voluntary sector was viewed as effective may be linked to welfare provision overall for homelessness households but compounded by the prevalence of religious organisations in NGO provision. Criticism of religious groups where Catholicism remains a dominant driver is not the default position in Ireland. Moreover, Ireland does not intend to introduce an enforceable right to housing therefore reinforcing the view that the state is expected to tackle homelessness through health and housing policy.

In Lyon, four fifths of those interviewed felt that the government was not doing enough to tackle the problem (79 per cent). The use of the social cohesion agenda in France in tacking homelessness generates a very different set of expectations in the minds of the homelessness professionals. Housing provision is part of the wider strategies to promote social protection for all and the introduction of an enforceable right to housing suggests a shift in welfare protection measures to place housing more centrally within the social cohesion agenda. It seems likely that given the more limited role of religious organisations in voluntary sector provision, homelessness professionals feel that they may vocalize dissent more openly as regards the deficits in provision in France.

Interestingly, over two thirds of the homelessness professionals interviewed in Leeds still believed that the government was not doing enough despite the fact that certain homelessness households have had the right to housing for over three decades. Comprehensive strategic systems exist to tackle the problem involving high levels of collaboration monitored by performance targets. Yet, in the minds of two thirds of respondents in Leeds, these measures remained inadequate. One explanation may be the extent to which the homelessness route has become too prescriptive in determining housing outcomes, a theme

which emerged during the follow up interviews with the homelessness managers in Leeds. Interestingly, similar proportions of respondents in Leeds and Lyon voiced concerns as regards the role of the NGO sector in alleviating homelessness. The relative independence of NGO homelessness accommodation in both Leeds and Lyon may well explain the willingness of the homelessness professionals in both cities to vocalize their concerns as regards the need for the sector to do more.

In the main, the research suggests that the voluntary sector in all three countries is more actively engaged in preventative measures than the statutory sector. But this did vary between countries. Analysis of the quantitative data shows that the Leeds respondents were most likely to suggest that local authorities had a prevention of homelessness role (91 per cent compared to 9 per cent in the voluntary sector). Local authorities were not seen to have a preventative role at all by either the Cork or Lyon homelessness managers. This function was clearly associated with the voluntary sector with 100 per cent of those interviewed pointing to the NGO sector in both cities.

Table 20: Are NGOs/Voluntary Sector Doing Enough to Tackle Homelessness? (% of Respondents).

	Leeds	Cork	Lyon
Definitely doing enough	27	27	7
Is doing enough	7	47	27
Not doing enough	67	27	67
N = 45			

Respondents interviewed for the thesis were asked to comment on the general emergency housing resources available to all household types in each of the three case study cities. Here, the state dominated as the principal provider with local authority provision being the most commonly cited by respondents in all three case study cities (100 per cent of respondents in both Leeds and Cork and 93 per cent in Lyon). This was followed by NGO accommodation, most

frequently in Cork (100 per cent); then Leeds (93 per cent) and finally Lyon (73 per cent). Respondents in Cork were much more likely to cite the use of bed and breakfast accommodation than those in Lyon (86 per cent compared just 20 per cent) and in Leeds (73 per cent). Unless the enforceable right to housing in France (the *Loi DALO* implemented in December 2009) is supported by an adequate supply of emergency accommodation, it is likely that the use of bed and breakfast will increase in France.

Table 21: General Housing Assistance Available to All Homeless Households (% of Respondents).						
	Leeds		Cork		Lyon	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Local authority general assistance	15	0	15	0	14	1
NGO hostel/shelter	14	1	15	0	11	4
Bed and breakfast	11	4	13	2	3	12
Other	2	-	3	-	0	-
N = 45						

4.17 Perception of Social Housing Resources By Gender

The case study city where social housing was most commonly viewed as being allocated to both men and women was Leeds. This applied to 66 per cent of respondents compared to just 7 per cent in Lyon.

Analysis of the survey data shows that those interviewed in Leeds perceived that the social housing system which catered primarily for men and women (66 per cent of respondents) or just women (33 per cent). None of the Leeds respondents viewed social housing as a resource mainly for men.

In Cork, the equivalent figure for men and women was 46 per cent, 46 per cent mainly men but just 7 per cent mainly women.

In Lyon, social housing was most frequently regarded as a resource which catered principally for men. This applied to almost three quarters of all those interviewed (73 per cent). Only 21 per cent of Lyon respondents saw social housing as a resource for women and just 7 per cent for both.

Further research is needed to explore this finding further and to assess the extent to which respondents' perceptions are validated by available data on social housing allocation by gender (using the head of household variable) or indeed whether this data consistently in the three cities to allow robust analysis.

4.18 Perception of Role of NGO Sector By Gender

Respondents in Cork most frequently suggested that accommodation provided by NGOs was likely to be mainly for women (just over a half – 60 per cent). This finding suggests that NGOs in Cork as perceived as a fulfilling a housing deficit for women. In the Leeds case, respondents believed that NGO accommodation provided equally for men, women or both sexes (33 per cent in each case). In Lyon, equal proportions of respondents believed NGOs provided accommodation mainly for either just men or equally for both (both recorded as 47 per cent).

Table 22: Do Housing Resources Generally Cater For Mainly Men, Mainly Women or Both Equally?
(% of Respondents).

	Leeds			**Cork**			**Lyon**		
	Mainly men	Mainly women	Equally both	Mainly men	Mainly women	Equally both	Mainly men	Mainly women	Equally both
Social housing	0	5	10	7	1	7	11	3	1
NGO hostel/shelter	5	5	5	5	9	2	7	1	7
N = 45									

4.19 Prevention of Homelessness

In respect of homelessness prevention, the findings demonstrate significant differences between countries.

Three quarters of respondents (73 per cent) in Leeds reported measures designed to prevent homelessness.

But only 33 per cent of those interviewed in Cork said that they were aware of any preventative measures and a mere 20 per cent in Lyon.

Levels of knowledge amongst homelessness staff to support women particularly on the prevention of homelessness was variable in Leeds. On an optimistic level, one respondent during the semi-structured interview spoke positively about the professionalism of the services provided by one local voluntary sector project:

"Generally, the women had pretty good information in the (voluntary sector) *hostel I was working with. The workers really knew their stuff. They had key workers there. In terms of processes and policies, there weren't really any gaps in information services. There were gaps in other areas but not about housing".*

Social Care Manager, female, Sure Start, social services.

Another local government homelessness manager recognised the potential role in the delivery of preventative services which may fulfilled by the voluntary sector:

"We really need to improve the prevention of homelessness aspect of things. We spend so much time implementing the legislation and CLG guidance – you know, fire fighting, that we haven't got much of an opportunity to think outside the box, to think more laterally. The voluntary sector could really plug the gap here".

Strategic Housing Business Manager, female, local housing authority.

But the same local authority respondent also pointed to the skills gap on topics such as housing rights:

"There are real knowledge gaps about things like housing rights upon relationship breakdown and security of tenure issues. Often our staff won't even attempt to advise on these issue. That means that we have one more applicant chasing the social housing sector through Choice Based Lettings".

Strategic Housing Business Officer, male, local housing authority.

The same respondent spoke of the way in which poor governance was perceived as more acceptable in the voluntary sector that in the statutory sector:

"There is a lack of accountability in the voluntary sector overall. It's like there is this view that the local authority must always be held to account but within the voluntary sector, there is a problem with this."

Strategic Housing Business Officer, male, local housing authority.

Another local government homelessness manager highlighted the dual and frequently conflicting professional identity of Leeds' voluntary sector hostels which runs the risk of unfairly raising homeless women's expectations:

"There is a real issue in the voluntary sector in the sense that often they are giving people false hopes. It's as though they are confused about whether they are a campaigning sector or whether they are there just to provide services – they need to sort that out. We (Leeds City Council) *end up picking up the pieces where single parents are told to hold out for a property in a really popular areas and they won't have cat in hell's chance".*

Strategic Housing Business Manager, female, local housing authority.

Another local government interviewee pointed to the redundancy of some the systems masquerading as preventative measures:

"To be absolutely honest, our staff (in the housing department) *just don't have the skills to give high quality housing advice. What happens instead is that they keep telling people to come back* (to the local authority Housing Advice Centre) *because they can't advise them properly on other options like rights following a relationship breakdown. Instead, they tell them to keep coming back to the Advice Centre just to check whether things have changed – which of course they haven't. So the same applicants keep coming back time and time again and we have huge queues outside the Advice Centre every day…. It actually gives people false hope".*

Strategic Housing Business Manager, female, local housing authority.

This view was reiterated by another respondent who noted that:

"Staff at the housing advice centre are not giving that broad range of advice about things like maximising income which to a lot of women is very important.

Staff need to be able to signpost appropriately, people need to know about registering children for school, stuff about the working families tax credit…many women have been there before so several times before and their children then later present as homeless. A lot of thought needs to go into it. If more provision is to be made, it's not just about more units, it's the whole package and that includes a well resourced voluntary sector".

Strategic Housing Business Manager, female, local housing authority.

Meaningful engagement with the voluntary sector was perceived as a key way forward for one of the Leeds respondents:

"We need to think about how legislation can influence the rules we are working with, how the homelessness strategy can influence policy. In other words, if are developing a homelessness strategy for Leeds, it has to be done properly and with the voluntary sector as true partners".

Strategic Housing Business Officer, male, local housing authority.

But only 33 per cent of those interviewed in Cork said that they were aware of any preventative measures and a mere 20 per cent in Lyon. The research findings demonstrate the capacity of the NGO sector in all three cities albeit in different forms and at different levels. In Lyon, the preventative agenda was the least developed of all three case study cities (mentioned only by 3 respondents). When it was undertaken, it was done so by the statutory (municipality) sector.

4.20 Homelessness Systems: A Comparative Summary

Chapter Four has outlined the substantial differences in the homelessness systems of the three cities. All three case study cities shared an ideological commitment to homeownership yet the research clearly shows that in reality, owner occupation is highly unlikely to become a reality for the vast majority of homeless women who use the hostel accommodation in the three cities. Despite the variation in proportion of social housing in each city (Ireland only has the least at only 9 per cent social housing), women moving from hostels and refuges are most likely to live in public sector housing following a period of homelessness. The Cork respondents aligned both the problems and solutions to homelessness to the health agenda reflecting the historical relationships between housing and health and had higher levels of tolerance towards ineffectual homelessness policies. The role of homeless prevention varied between countries. The statutory duty as regards the prevention of homelessness in Leeds was welcomed by the homelessness professionals. But interviewees also identified substantial gaps, notably lack of funding and inadequate skills amongst housing advisers which were perceived to substantially limit the implementation of a fully effective homelessness strategy for women and their children. The role of the voluntary sector varied from city to city. Cork's NGO sector was seen as catering more women than men or mixed hostels. This suggests a more enhanced role for the voluntary hostel sector accommodation for women in Cork than in Lyon, its conservative corporatist counterpart. This evidence further refutes Esping-Andersen's view that the worlds of welfare need not focus on the voluntary sector but rather should be confined to the dichotomy of the state and the market.

Chapter Five which follows focuses on a feminist review of citizenship and specifically the nature of any enforceable right to housing in the three case study countries. The chapter begins by demonstrating the relationship between feminism and social policy and then continues by identifying homelessness "rights" enshrined in statute in England, Ireland and France. Primary data from

the homelessness professionals interviewed for the study are interwoven into the narrative to further inform the narrative on citizenship.

CHAPTER FIVE: HOUSING RIGHTS AND NOTIONS OF CITIZENSHIP: A FEMINIST ANALYSIS

5.1 Summary

The research for this thesis has highlighted the substantial differences in interpretations of housing "rights" in each of the three countries. The study has demonstrated how the relative implementation of an explicit housing rights agenda serves as a reflection of the dominant welfare typology of each country. Further, a focus on the theoretical constructs which underpin citizenship demonstrates how women's engagement with a liberalist housing rights agenda may be both enabling as it provides a route out of housing exclusion and disabling as it becomes the only perceived way of securing accommodation. The research evidence shows how England embodies element of enablement and disablement for women in this respect. In the case of Ireland, there is negligible political will to introduce an enforceable right to housing for homeless group as the country defers to definitions of homelessness heavily influences by European and more recently American typologies advocated by the voluntary sector and the broad definition of housing need and homelessness provided in the Housing Act 1988. The advent of the *Loi DALO* in France, the country's first enforceable right to housing introduced in December 2008, is also considered argued in respect of women but it is argued that this apparent emergence of liberalism is eclipsed by France's overriding commitment to social citizenship.

Chapter Five examines notions of citizenship and its relevance to the comparative study of women's homelessness in the three case study countries. The chapter assesses the way in which homelessness rights are enshrined in legislation in England, Ireland and France and the relevance to single women and lone parents with a female head of household. The discussion also highlights the value of including notions of citizenship as an amendment of Esping-Andersen's welfare regime typology in comparative evaluations of women's homelessness in the three case study countries.

5.2 Critical Review of Debates On Citizenship: Relevance to Women's Homelessness and Welfare Regimes

Few would disagree with the assertion that a roof over one's head is essential element of citizenship even though the precise interpretation of citizenship may take different forms in different countries. Enforceable rights to housing and notions of social citizenship are therefore inextricably linked. As a fundamental starting point, Marshall's observations provide some insight into the minimum expectations which may be held by a citizen of a country. Such an understanding of citizenship clearly embraces access to legislative measures designed to promote equality for all. The Marshallian definition of citizenship as being *"a status bestowed on those who are full members of a community"* points to equal access to rights, including by implication housing rights (Marshall, 1950, page 84). Gender, however, was not mentioned explicitly in Marshall's analysis which perhaps reflects the time of writing given that Marshall was writing before the first wave of feminism in 1960s. Despite this deficit, Marshall's writings provide a compact framework for viewing notions of citizenship. In particular, the categorisation of the three key dimensions of citizenship as civil, political and social in Marshall's work help to ground a feminist review of citizenship within the homelessness context. Civil suggests an organised society where rights (for example homeless rights), respect and responsibilities (behaving in a "tenant like manner"; remedies to deal with anti-social behaviour and a sense of place and belonging) play a critical role. The political aspect of citizenship emphasises the importance of governance by the state as well as the role of institutions on the development and implementation of housing and homelessness related policies. The social suggests the societal factors which impact on women's housing opportunities, through access to financial resources and/or social protection measures. A country's homelessness system uniquely captures all three aspects of the civil, political and social dimensions of citizenship (see Table 1, Theme 3).

More intrinsic issues are equally relevant. These include the relationship between the individual and the institutions which either promote or inhibit the

ability to maximise women's participation within a given context. Stewart's 1995 proposition that there are two paradoxical components associated with citizenship - formal and independent citizenship - links well to the structure and agency debate highlighted earlier in this thesis (see section 3.5). Formal citizenship refers to structured elements of systems and bureaucracies which are seemingly predetermined. Independent citizenship emphasises the autonomy of the individual who may have to act outside the interests of these systems. This argument is important for this thesis as it demonstrates the way in which homelessness systems may emerge and become sustained by the dominant welfare regime of a given country. But equally, policy change may be activated by individuals and social policy groups such as the voluntary (non government organisation) sector. A good example of this is the emergence of the women's refuge movement in the 1970s in England and the continued promotion of rights for homeless women since this time, most obviously through enhanced protection for victims of domestic violence via the homelessness route.

A variation of this argument is presented by Delanty (2000) who distinguishes between the three key tenets of citizenship as being formal, relating to "identity" or participation. In respect of the formal elements, rights of individuals feature heavily such as the right to housing, education or health care. By contrast, notions of identity and participation are perceived as more fluid concepts which may transcend cultures and contexts. Homelessness legislation in the English context also accords closely with the first tier of "formal" citizenship as advocated by Delanty (2000) given that it is an enforceable right with an appeals procedure. Delanty's view that citizenship and identity are inextricably liked has also been borne out by the research undertaken for this thesis. The homeless professionals interviewed for this thesis pointed to the way in which the legislation now dominated as the *only* route for women in housing need, to the detriment of other strategic or less bureaucratic solutions. The identity of a homeless woman runs the risk of being submerged by the very process

designed to provide choice. Meaningful participation, as characterised by Delanty in society may therefore be comprised as a result.

Miller (2000) advocates a libertarian perspective which supports the notion of the common civilisation (formal or informal action collective action resulting in the production of a set of normative values) in pursuit of equality. According to this construction of citizenship, this common civilisation establishes the baseline which *"defines a minimum level of education, income, housing…so that citizens must have their common heritage".*

(Lewis and Pascall, 2004, page 391).

Peter King, a prolific author on social thought, welfare policy and the discourse around housing rights, provides insight here by introducing the universal notion of housing rights as "freedom rights". Drawing on his work published in 2003, King discusses the notion of housing rights as freedom rights which, he suggests, embody the critical values of the liberalist ideology by promoting the principals of freedom, choice and liberty. The role of institutions and structures correspondingly assume a more marginalised position. In fact, according to King, all inherent claims to socio-economic rights are ultimately distilled down to freedom rights since individuals possess these rights simply by being human:

"Even social rights, being the rights to certain socio-economic claims, are held by individuals. The importance of rights, therefore, is that they locate significance at the level of the individual and prohibit any trade off between individuals and groups in which the interests of some are sacrificed for the benefit of others".

(King, 2003, page 663).

Housing rights, both freedom and socio-economic, King observes, change over time and from country to country (a useful endorsement of this comparative

housing analysis). This would suggest that, on many levels, a continuum should exist whereby the effective identification of housing needs ultimately results in the emergence of housing rights ideally enshrined by the legislative process. But as gender did not feature as a discrete area in this analysis, it is unclear, where precisely women's freedom rights feature according to King's discourse. If the freedom rights approach to housing access is to stand true regardless of gender, then by implication, the possession of the right alone is surely sufficient to result in the provision of adequate housing. But ample evidence suggests that, in reality, this is not the case. In the case of women, notably in liberalist regimes such as England, freedom rights may well exist (freedom and socio-economic on the basis of being merely human although in the England case this has been significantly developed to include protection measures against domestic violence), the converse is that the pursuit of this equality is frequently manifested by spatial inequalities given that women, and in particular lone parents, are the main consumers of statutory homelessness services and one of the group most likely to live in social housing in the three case study countries reviewed in this analysis. The research for this thesis has shown that this is the case regardless of the proportion of social housing in each country, and the differing housing allocations processes adopted by social housing providers and their equivalent in each country.

But can liberalist housing rights traverse nation states, albeit in a modified form? Jobert (1993) traces a more explicit democratic citizenship agenda in France back to the introduction of social security benefits in the 1970s resulting in what he has characterised as a broad neocorporatist welfare regime. The introduction of the *Loi DALO* the enforceable right to housing in France, may be viewed as another example of such neocorporatism. Ireland, on the other hand, has yet to show any real political appetite for an enforceable right to housing and has opted to use existing measures, specifically antipoverty policy instruments along with the European homelessness typology, to address its homelessness problem. The ferocity of the Celtic Tiger economy where liberalist markets raged fuelled by an exceptionally buoyant property market

were not matched an equally zealous promotion of homelessness rights despite evidence that there has been an increase in recorded levels of homelessness amongst women, including a high proportion of female drug users, in the wake of the Celtic Tiger (O' Carroll and O' Reilly, 2008).

5.3 Feminist Reviews of Citizenship

Early feminist critiques of notions of citizenship in England began to leave their mark on the literature in the mid 1990s as a backlash against Thatcher's free market feminism. Ruth Lister, writing 1997, the year that New Labour came to power in England, drew on Doyal and Gough's much cited theory of human needs (1991) as a model which encompasses social, political and civil rights. According to Doyal and Gough, social rights constitute a precondition of any action in any culture and are therefore:

"…one of the most basic human needs, those which must be satisfied to some degree before actors can effectively participate in their form of life to achieve any other valued goals".

Doyal and Gough (1991) cited in Lister (1997).

Basic shelter is another such basic human need. As Lister first observed in 1997, this understanding of social citizenship holds particular relevance for many women in the light of their frequent economic dependency on men (particularly male partners) which has traditionally undermined their ability to become enshrined as full citizens. Lister continues by suggesting that there exists a theoretical continuum across which rights discourses traverse. Liberal feminists such as Lister embrace the notion of citizenship unequivocally as being pivotal to any programme of reform since people are born with equal rights and equal opportunities regardless of factors such as gender, class, gender or disability. Radical feminists suggest how rights discourses frequently embody patriarchal values and leading ultimately to an abuse of power. In her later work with Gillian Pascall, Lewis (2004) points to the need for a paradigm

shift to reflect the emerging importance of European legislative change balanced alongside and women's increasing presence in labour markets with their principal role as carers:

"The best prospect for gender equality in the New Europe is a model in which people's obligations to paid work and care as citizens would be underpinned with public investment in citizenship rights".

(Lewis and Pascall, 2004, page 390).

How might a revised welfare typology accommodate notions of citizenship? Measurements of investment in citizenship through homelessness legislation is one way. The notion of gender mainstreaming where equality is fundamentally promoted in all policy areas (not just where discrimination occurs) is also important to note. Public (and private to represent the corporate dimension of welfare regimes) Investment in maternity benefits, family allowances and child benefits represents a further measure. But the argument is not straightforward. Writers such as Walby (2005) point to the complexities of gender relations today and suggest that the boundaries between men and women have become blurred within dominant discourse. Such integration provides further support for considering how citizenship and legislation are inextricably linked in respect of something as fundamental as a home. The importance of an enforceable right to housing for the homeless is one such measure. This issue is considered in the next section of the thesis.

5.4 Rights for Homeless Women in England, Ireland and France.

England

In liberalist regimes such as England's, the promotion of an explicit enforceable right to housing forms the bedrock of the country's homelessness system. This in turn determines the extent to which women and specifically lone parents are able to secure emergency accommodation at the point of housing crisis. The lead agency in implementing homelessness processes here is the local housing authority. The local authorities' statutory responsibilities are well supported by a buoyant and highly professionalised voluntary (NGO) sector. Applications by homeless women for emergency assistance are made under the Housing Act 1996 Part 7 as amended by the Homelessness Act 2002. The genesis of England's welfare commitment to providing a safety net for homeless women through legislation may be traced to the National Assistance Act 1948. This pivotal piece of legislation post World War Two created a duty for local authorities to *"provide temporary accommodation for persons in urgent accommodation need .in circumstances which could not have been reasonably foreseen"* (National Assistance Act 1948, section 21). The Act was primarily intended to keep families together thereby reinforcing the notion of nuclear household types. But although lone parents and single women were at liberty to seek emergency assistance through reception centres, they tended not to do so (Austerberry and Watson, 1986).

5.5 Rise of Feminism and Relevance to Homelessness in 1970s in England

Following vociferous and sustained campaigning by social policy interest groups in the 1960s and 1970s, public consciousness was raised on the issue of homelessness. Church based organisations were a strong influence in lobbying central government at this time, demonstrating the importance of conservatism in England's welfare regime at this time (see Richards' competent account published in 1992 of the history of homelessness legislation in England). Sustained campaigning resulted in the introduction of the first explicit legislative instrument to place a statutory duty on local housing authorities to house people

who were homeless or threatened with homelessness was introduced, the Homeless Persons Act 1977. The wave of radical feminism which focused on institutional and societal inequalities in England in the 1960s and 1970s was also a significant catalyst in demonstrating the gross social and economic injustices on the grounds of gender. Domestic violence became the focus of lobbying groups. The first women's refuge opened in Chiswick in 1971. This was followed by the inception of Women's Aid, the parent organisation. The Women's Aid refuge network was founded in 1975 and embodied the feminist principles of collectivism, mutual support and self-help (Morley, 1993). This was followed by the inception of the National Women's Aid Federation in 1974 which initially comprised a network of 40 voluntary sector hostels and advice agencies for victims of domestic violence in England. In April 2009, there were 360 agencies affiliated to Women's Aid which either directly provided accommodation services and/or offered specialist advice and support services for victims of domestic violence (Women's Aid, 2009).

5.6 Explicit Legislative Provisions and Relevance to Homeless Women

Sustained campaigning by the voluntary sector and organisations affiliated to the Christian movement led to the tabling of a private members bill by Stephen Ross, a Liberal Democrat MP, designed to give local authorities a statutory duty to house the country's homeless. Families, pregnant women and vulnerable people were to given priority. The Act only received full party approval in the House of Lords when the intentional homeless clause was inserted at the eleventh hour to appease those peers who believed that people would falsely declare homelessness to secure council housing. The Homeless Persons Act 1977 did not contain an explicit duty for local authorities to assist victims of domestic violence. This resulted in subjective and inconsistent homelessness decision making on the part of local authorities when faced with an application from a victim of domestic abuse. Research conducted at this time pointed to the labyrinthine nature of the homelessness legislation for all groups but given women's and in particular lone parent's over representation in groups presenting as homeless, this unwieldy bureaucracy disproportionately impacted

on women and their children. Robson and Watchman writing in 1981 compared the so called homeless route to accommodation as a *"homeless person's obstacle race"* where applicants had to fulfil a number of rigid criteria to be rehoused, namely the restrictive, rigid definition of "homeless", "priority need", "local connection" and not be "intentionally homeless" contained in the statute. This bewilderment caused by the copious legislative requirements were further compounded by the trauma of domestic violence and/or the reality of a future, in the short term at least, of living on welfare benefits. In short, local authorities lacked the capacity to adequately deal with demands of the new legislation. The liberalist, rights agenda gathered momentum in the 1970s but attitudes from local authority staff began to manifest all the hallmarks of a pathology of homelessness by focusing on homeless women's individual behaviour rather than institutional structures which catapulted women and their children into homelessness. At this time, England was in economic recession and levels of social house building were very low. Watson and Austerberry (1986) suggest that a deviance model had begun to emerge in homelessness discourse at this time which demonised lone parents, a shift in emphasis which is arguably more in keeping with the conservative corporate model of Ireland particularly but also France to a lesser extent. Statistical evidence from the Department of the Environment, the ministry then responsible for housing homelessness, began to emerge that women and in particular lone parents, were the group most likely to use homelessness services. Evidence of highly judgemental attitudes emerged from Mary Brailey's seminal research published in 1985 where women fleeing domestic violence were asked to show the bruises to the interviewing homelessness officer as evidence of assault even though the legislation did not require such evidence and the burden of proof lay with the local authority to disprove what the applicant said rather than for the applicant to prove what the violence. These alarming practices persisted well in the 1980s and deterred homeless women from using the statutory homeless route for housing to homeless women (see Brailey, 1985). The research for this thesis shows that this malpractice exists today. Alarmingly, one of the respondents interviewed for

this thesis suggested that this practice may still persist in at least one large urban local authority homelessness department:

*"There is some evidence emerging that women are being forced to prove that they are in fear of violence – it's that really bad practice we all thought had stopped but it seems it hasn't. We've heard that Camden (*Borough Council) *are now asking women prove the violence – how can do you do that? It's illegal, apart from anything else, isn't it?"*

Strategic Housing Business Manager, female, local authority.

Neoliberalist, freedom rights, to use Peter King's parlance, acquired through England's statutory homeless route, have to some extent become synonymous with the engagement of welfare machinery to protect homeless single women who were pregnant, experiencing domestic violence or lone parents with a female head of household. In the early days of homelessness law in England, there may well have been rights available to some groups of homeless women. But these were limited and erratically enforced by local authorities. Local discretion gave local authorities the licence to refer families from one part of the country to another. Moreover, there was no statutory right to an internal appeal against an adverse homelessness decision within local housing authorities when the first tranche of legislation was introduced. Instead, the main form of recourse lay in instigating judicial review proceedings though the high court on a point of law, a process which frequently took some 12 – 18 months to complete. In the meantime, single women and lone parents were required to stay in temporary accommodation, normally bed and breakfast or hostel accommodation awaiting the outcome of the court' s decision.

By the late 1970s and 1980s, it was clear that local authorities and the voluntary sector were struggling to meet increased demand and expectations caused by the new legislation. Emergency and permanent accommodation were both

running in short supply and proving inadequate in meeting the rising tide of homeless households, many of whom where single parent families.

Change was imminent. Following Labour's defeat in the 1979 general election, the Conservative party embarked on its tirade of neoliberalist housing reforms under Margaret Thatcher's leadership designed to dismantle the pivotal role of local housing authorities as housing providers. Council housing stock was commodified through the right to buy scheme (Housing Act 1980), the private rented sector deregulated and housing associations identified as the lead agencies in providing social housing. Local authorities in their new role as strategic enablers maintained the homelessness function but lost the ability to directly provide council accommodation. An integral part of the Conservative Party's project at this time lay around the accepted principles of traditional family structures (including gender structures) which for the most part, adhered to normative perceptions of the family comprising a heterosexual couple and children. Households which deviated from this conventional model found that they were increasingly marginalised by neoliberalist policy making machine. A discourse emerged which alleged that the homeless route provided a perverse incentive for people become pregnant in order to get rehoused. Teenage parents were considered the most recalcitrant and were arguably the group which fell most foul of this new moral panic despite any robust evidence to show that they were over represented in England's homelessness system. Regardless of the robust data, terms such as "scrimshankers", "rent dodgers" and "queue dodgers" were omnipresent in parliamentary debates during the late 1970s when the issue of homelessness was being debated (Richards, 1992). Policy solutions focused firmly on individual inadequacies (perceived reluctance to find paid employment featured heavily) and the supremacy of the market as the route to welfare reform rather than institutional and structural deficiencies within the country's housing system as a whole. In response to growing public pressure, a raft of initiatives were introduced to combat homelessness but these measures tended to focus on the eradication of street homelessness which was increasingly becoming a source of acute political embarrassment to the

government. The Rough Sleepers Initiative, targeted at young homeless people epitomised central government's homelessness approach at this time (Andersen *et al* (1993); Andersen, 1997). Temporary accommodation in the voluntary and statutory sectors for women proved inadequate (Watson and Austerberry, 1986). The voluntary sector began to assume a more dominant in homeless service provision as a proliferation of new voluntary groups were formed. Overtly left wing social policy homelessness organisations entered into service contract agreements with conservative government which inevitably diluted their autonomy. Shelter, the national charity for the homeless, was one such voluntary sector organisation. The voluntary sector had entered into the liberalist market place and found itself grappling with a new performance culture and the beginnings of formally regulated partnership working whilst welfare benefits for lone parents continued to be strictly means tested.

The Housing Act 1985 Part III signalled the beginning of recognition of a preventative agenda for homelessness in England. The Act extended local authorities duties and power to assist homeless households through the extension of the priority need categories to explicitly include victims of domestic violence on the grounds of their vulnerability for "any other special reason". But regardless of these additional rights, it was not uncommon for local housing authorities at that time to simply refer women fleeing a violent partner to emergency accommodation with negligible provision of advice and advocacy services, sometimes back to the area from which the woman had fled. Hague and Malos (1996) later identified this practice as "minimal legal compliance." Despite the introduction of further legislative requirements including the prevention of homeless in subsequent legislation (Homelessness Act 2002), research for this thesis demonstrates that minimal compliance remains an issue for homelessness professionals working with lone parents and single women. One local authority respondent in Leeds during the semi-structured interview suggested that the mere threat of judicial review meant that elementary compliance with the legislation took precedence over more strategic measures

designed to promote the prevention of homelessness in the medium to long term:

"Funding wise, from a statutory point of view, our money has to be put into the homelessness function. You have to do this, you will be challenged otherwise, you will have judicial review if you are not following that process. There is very little money in a hard pressed local authority to focus on homelessness prevention and housing need solutions for women".

Strategic Housing Business Manager, female, local housing authority.

One of the voluntary sector respondents reported how financial support to fund homelessness prevention has been diverted to meeting the minimal statutory duty:

"The government gave money to the authority to write the homelessness strategy – that just got swallowed up. You're spending too much money just on meeting your statutory duty. That means that there is no financial support to spend more money on actually preventing homelessness".

Hostel Manager, female, voluntary sector.

This view was reinforced by another local authority respondent who also suggested that frontline homelessness services remained too reactive and identified the voluntary sector's potential in bridging the gap:

"We really need to improve the prevention of homelessness aspect of things. we spend so much time implementing the legislation and CLG guidance – you know, fire fighting, that we haven't got much of an opportunity to think outside the box, to think more laterally. The voluntary sector could really plug the gap here".

Strategic Housing Business Manager, female, local housing authority.

The Housing Act 1996 has an accompanying Code of Guidance which points to the need to develop partnerships with the voluntary sector although in the early 1990s, partnerships approaches were primitive with ill define roles and responsibilities. In addition, lack of social housing as move on accommodation created a bottleneck situation in emergency accommodation. Charles (1994) noted that women were being forced to stay in refuges for lengthy periods of time as a result of the reduction in investment in social housing. This reinforces the limitations of neoliberalist approaches which are overly dependent on legislative solutions without addressing broader housing solutions promoted by the market. This gap clearly fettered local authorities' discretion in discharging their homelessness functions (Department of the Environment, 1996). In other areas in England, evidence emerged which pointed to subjective and at times irrational interpretation of the legislation. Outcomes of homeless applications frequently depended on locally specific factors, namely the availability of both temporary accommodation and social housing. Some local authorities were deemed more sympathetic than others, leading to shunting around of households from one authority to another in search of a more benevolent local authority (Cloke *et al* 2000). Such inconsistent decision making made for erratic lives of those trapped within the homelessness system, resulting in the demise of social networks, different schools for children and changes in health care providers. For women, this meant the loss of informal or formal systems of support with childcare, an invaluable resource frequently dismissed by welfare regime critiques. This fractionalised approach stands in sharp contrast to the French welfare regime which aims first and foremost to promote social cohesion through solidarity.

This fracionalisation became more accentuated as the homelessness legislation was further amended by the Housing Act 1996 Part 7 introduced by the ruling Conservative government. Here, the right to a permanent home was in effect removed in favour of the private rented and housing association sector. This

remains the primary legislation for homelessness in England and its implications for homeless women is considered in section 5.7.

5.7 Homelessness Legislation – The English Context

England was the first country of those selected for this analysis which has dedicated legislation designed to alleviate and prevent homelessness. The implementation of the *Loi DALO* in France in December 2008 remains in its infancy and in Ireland, there is negligible political will to introduce such a right..

Definitions of Homelessness Used in English Statute

The definition of homelessness contained in the legislation is highly prescriptive. The extract below is taken verbatim from the Housing Act 1996 Part 7, sections 175 – 177:

175 Homelessness and threatened homelessness.

(1) A person is homeless if he has no accommodation available for his occupation, in the United Kingdom or elsewhere, which he —

(a) is entitled to occupy by virtue of an interest in it or by virtue of an order of a court,

(b) has an express or implied licence to occupy, or

(c) occupies as a residence by virtue of any enactment or rule of law giving him the right to remain in occupation or restricting the right of another person to recover possession.

(2) A person is also homeless if he has accommodation but —

(a) he cannot secure entry to it, or

(b) it consists of a moveable structure, vehicle or vessel designed or adapted for human habitation and there is no place where he is entitled or permitted both to place it and to reside in it.

(3) A person shall not be treated as having accommodation unless it is accommodation which it would be reasonable for him to continue to occupy.

(4) A person is threatened with homelessness if it is likely that he will become homeless within 28 days.

176 Meaning of accommodation available for occupation.

Accommodation shall be regarded as available for a person's occupation only if it is available for occupation by him together with —

(a) any other person who normally resides with him as a member of his family, or

(b) any other person who might reasonably be expected to reside with him.

References in this Part to securing that accommodation is available for a person's occupation shall be construed accordingly.

177 Whether it is reasonable to continue to occupy accommodation

(1) It is not reasonable for a person to continue to occupy accommodation if it is probable that this will lead to domestic violence against him, or against —

(a) a person who normally resides with him as a member of his family, or

(b) any other person who might reasonably be expected to reside with him.

For this purpose "domestic violence", in relation to a person, means violence from a person with whom he is associated, or threats of violence from such a person which are likely to be carried out.

(2) In determining whether it would be, or would have been, reasonable for a person to continue to occupy accommodation, regard may be had to the general circumstances prevailing in relation to housing in the district of the local housing authority to whom he has applied for accommodation or for assistance in obtaining accommodation.

Office of Public Sector Information (2009). Note use of "he" is the legislation.

Unpicking the wording of the statute, the statutory definition of homelessness contained in the Housing Act 1996 Part 7 includes households who are: roofless; living in insecure accommodation, principally as licensees (such as in a hostel or bed and breakfast); in fear of violence from a partner or other "associated person" such as another family member or former partner; have a legal interest in a property but for whom it is unreasonable to continue to occupy. This could apply to cases where a woman remains in residence following domestic violence but harassment or acts of violence from a former partner persist from outside the home. The statutory definition also includes those living in very poor conditions which make the property unavailable. This may mean that the property may be lacking in affordability; or a notice to quit

has been served where the tenant has no defence to possession i.e. termination of assured shorthold tenancy in England and Wales.

(Housing Act 1996 Part 7 section 17, paragraphs 1 – 4).

The definition of homelessness has become more flexible during the evolution of the legislation and since 2002, includes domestic violence as a priority need category. But when compared with the definition of homelessness applied by the voluntary sector, the prescriptive nature of the legislation becomes apparent. In the wake of the 1996 Housing Act Part 7, an umbrella group comprising voluntary homelessness agencies produced a far reaching definition of housing exclusion based largely on the housing situation of the person or household. This broader definition includes people who were hidden homeless and staying with friends or family on a short term basis (Smith, 2003). This definition is highly relevant to women given the frequent private nature of women's homelessness (Croft-White and Parry Cooke, 2000; Jones, 1998; Webb, 1999) and therefore reinforces the importance of including contribution the voluntary sector in a feminist reconstruction of welfare regime theory. The definition also includes people who are rough sleeping, sleeping in derelict buildings, sleeping on friends' floors or staying in an emergency hostel. Residents in short term hostels are also included in this definition.

As Fitzpatrick *et al* (2000) have noted, the work of the voluntary sector at this time played a key role in highlighting deficiencies in the existing legislative framework thereby putting additional pressure on central government to develop further policy processes to support homeless households. The Supporting People Programme introduced in 2002, the extension of the priority need groupings to include young people deemed aged 16 or 17 and the homeless prevention duty included in the Homelessness Act 2002, represent such a policy shift.

The transience of homeless households, many of whom were lone parents, became further accentuated by the implementation Housing Act 1996 Part 7 which effectively removed the right to a permanent home for successful homeless applicants. This policy measure was designed to remove the so-called "perverse incentive" to apply as homeless to local housing authorities for accommodation. Instead, local authorities were only obliged to provide accommodation for a maximum of two years. Housing associations and a deregulated private rented sector proved unable to fill the yawning gap left by local housing authorities (Cloke *et al,* 2000). The point is made well by Pascall *et al* (2001) who asserted that homelessness claims made by women in fear of violence became significantly eroded by the Housing Act 1996 Part 7 to reflect the Conservative Party's ideology of the time overtly designed to reinforce conventional notions of the family. Single parent households, as autonomous units headed by women, threatened the conservative party notion of the family and became further demonised as a result. Fears surrounding housing supply shortages quickly fuelled this prejudice resulting in further discrimination against with single parent families with a female head of household. (Pascall *et al* (2001). The legislation in its form today may well exceed the expectations of those stakeholders who lobbied for its implementation in the 1960s and 1970s. Yet the research undertaken for this thesis shows that legislation in its own right is not sufficient. As one respondent reported, the importance of party politics in 2009 at the local level in influencing homelessness legislation firmly remains part of the legacy:

"Another perversity of the legislation is that you need something extra, that political will to make it work. We have seen that happen in other authorities and it makes you wonder, well, why can't it work here (in Leeds)*?* "

Strategic Housing Business Officer, male, local housing authority.

It is at this juncture where the freedom rights advocated by Peter King (2003; 2006) potentially become simultaneously instruments of suppression. On the

one hand, the right to housing for homeless women had become further embedded in the welfare psyche in England. On the other, the perceived bureaucracy of local housing authorities by the conservative party was incompatible with the conservative's view that the free market reigned supreme. It was increasingly apparent that market solutions in the English context were inadequate in meeting the needs of homeless households, particularly lone parent families.

When political control changed to the Labour Party following the general election May 1997, the new administration sought to fulfil its party manifesto commitment of restoring the right to permanent accommodation for statutory homeless households. The introduction of the Homelessness Act 2002 under Labour signalled yet another new era by introducing an explicit duty to prevent homelessness through a range of measures. But the research findings demonstrate how prescriptive homelessness prevention measures encourage abuse of the system even amongst local housing authorities which are known for the rigidly regulating of the flow of applicants:

"The problem with the legislation is that it doesn't actually help us do what the government wants us to do which is to prevent homelessness. All the time, you have this legislation which is forcing people down a certain route. Even a highly gate keeping authority will still have people who will access services that really perhaps they shouldn't. If you are in a position of acute housing need, you become as resourceful as you can. We can all become resourceful when we need to. "

Strategic Housing Business Manager, female, local housing authority.

The lack of financial support for otherwise well intentioned local authorities has been disabling in the view of one respondent:

“There really is no financial support to spend on preventing homelessness…you can’t think laterally, you can’t think, well if we spend money here, then you’ll save money there. We’re not quite there yet. Other authorities do. We need the political will.”

Strategic Housing Business Officer, male, local housing authority.

The extended provisions of the homelessness legislation reflected the irrefutable evidence that domestic violence was widespread and that existing remedies were inadequate. Victims of domestic violence cross all ethnic groups, social classes, ages and bodily ability boundaries (Lloyd, 1997). But until relatively recently, violence from a partner in (or outside) the home was generally perceived as being confined to the parameters of the domestic sphere. Police forces in England were reluctant deal with a so-called "‘domestics." Domestic violence effects a range of relationships both within an outside the household and includes instances where violence or threats of violence exist between a range of household members such as between parents and children (and indeed children and parents) as well as carers. Decades of sustained and vigorous campaigning have resulted in heightened awareness of the problem, leading to (amongst other significant policy developments), a revised definition of domestic violence in the Homelessness Act 2002. This amendment places women in fear of assault from absentee partners in one of the revised "priority need" groupings. Threats of violence alone from someone associated with the woman are sufficient to trigger the homelessness provisions as it renders the property unreasonable to continue to occupy even if the woman has a legal interest in the home. The Act stipulates that the threats much be from someone likely to carry out those threats:

“For this purpose “violence” means— (a) violence from another person; or (b) threats of violence from another person which are likely to be carried out; and violence is “domestic violence” if it is from a person who is associated with the victim.”

Homelessness Act 2002, paragraph 10.

The 2002 Act also created a discernible category for victims of domestic violence (Office of Public Sector Information, 2009). These provisions are intended to be used alongside other criminal and civil measures designed to tackle domestic violence. But one homelessness manager in Leeds interviewed as part of the research for this thesis remained sceptical as regards the impact of legislation *per se* in the absence of other changes, notably a more expedient response from the police:

"There is more legislation on the way (amendment to the Domestic Violence, Crime and Victims Act implemented in 2007 which made breach of a non molestation order a criminal offence), *there is something in theory which is going to improve this…. I'm not sure that just having legislation there is going to do it. It will make things easier. But alongside this, there needs to be the motivation. The police need to be able to respond quickly".*

(Local Services Manager, male, voluntary sector housing support organisation).

The Homelessness Act 2002 also compelled local authorities to implement homelessness preventative measures. In response to the preventative agenda in cases of domestic violence, central government promoted the introduction of sanctuary schemes whereby one room in the victim's property was fitted with safety measures (alarms, mortise locks on windows, close circuit television and emergency lighting). On one level, measures such as sanctuary schemes and injunctions which are designed to allow women to remain in occupation of a property may be regarded as an empowerment strategy in keeping with the liberalist ideology of choice and gender equality. Such approaches ensure that children's schools or vital family social networks remain intact. It is the perpetrator who, in effect, is punished through proper legal recourse or by being made homeless. Advocates of the sanctuary scheme approach point to the empowerment and choice for women implicit in the initiative, alongside its cost

effectiveness, lack of immediate disruption caused to the woman (and children where present) and the flexibility it affords social housing providers relative to the homeless route. In its Homelessness Strategy 2006 – 2010, Leeds City Council identified the development of a sanctuary scheme for the city as one of its key objectives (Leeds City Council, 2009b). The first such scheme was introduced in Leeds in 2007. But the research undertaken for the thesis demonstrates that homelessness professionals are far from convinced as regards the effectiveness of the sanctuary approach. Opponents emphasised that the schemes would only work if they represented a true choice to the women, alongside the offer of alternative accommodation and advice and support. When the schemes were first introduced, local authorities were cautioned against insisting that victims of domestic violence used sanctuary schemes as a part of an overly zealous preventative agenda (Shelter, 2007). The scepticism was voiced by homelessness managers interviewed in Leeds for this thesis. Two of the interviewees (one local authority manager and the other a voluntary sector manager) seriously questioned the validity of the sanctuary scheme approach and suggested that too much pressure was being put on women to use the experimental sanctuary approach rather than using the more conventional, more predictable homelessness route for alternative accommodation. One Leeds homelessness manager interviewed for the thesis suggested that the sanctuary schemes further curtailed choice for homeless women:

"I have to say I'm very concerned about this shift in to developing strategies to enable women to stay in their own homes and to get the perpetrator, for want of a better word, to leave. It's very risky. We are looking at putting in emergency alarms but we normally only use those in sheltered housing schemes liked to a central control. But my worry is that local authorities are going to put pressure on women to use these options rather than applying through the homeless system. What we need to be doing is giving women who are experiencing violence real choice".

Strategic Housing Business Manager, female, local authority.

Another voluntary sector respondents spoke of the ineffectual nature of legal services designed to combat domestic violence:

“Around domestic violence, we are still very much in its infancy about many things.....my general perception around domestic violence services, such as the legal services designed to prevent partners returning to a property so allowing a woman to stay put, are ineffective. That’s still the general feeling".

Local Services Manager, male, voluntary sector housing support organisation.

A local authority homelessness manager shared this view and highlighted the limitations of injunctions in protecting women who opted for the sanctuary approach:

“The government’s agenda has really pushed protection for women to remain in their homes safely but we know the evidence shows that injunctions get broken...some men will respect them but a sizeable proportion won’t”.

Strategic Housing Business Manager, female, local housing authority.

Homelessness legislation has clearly been critical in addressing urgent housing problems for women in England. Yet legislation alone is insufficient without true political will to address institutional and societal inequalities on the grounds of gender. Writers such Barnett (1998) have pointed to the inadequacies of liberal feminism and its over dependency on legal mechanisms to combat domestic violence and cite Marxist feminist approaches as representing the way forward. The importance of this political will was reiterated by one of the local authority homelessness managers in Leeds:

"It's really political will that makes it work. We have seen that happen in other authorities and it makes you wonder, well, why can't it work here (in Leeds)*?"*

Strategic Housing Business Manager, female, local housing authority.

In addition to the lack of political will in certain instances, the rationing of housing resources alongside a highly prescriptive set of eligibility criteria has meant that homelessness professionals may see the homeless route as enshrined in legislation as the only option for women, particularly in areas of housing shortage. One local authority respondent in Leeds went as far as suggesting that homelessness legislation perversely disguised true housing need:

"The problem with the legislation is that it does force people into homelessness. Anywhere where there is high demand, then it becomes the option. That will impact on everyone but it will impact on women particularly. It concentrates and denies housing need. As long as you fit into a certain checklist, you're fine. Otherwise, you're going to have a problem".

Strategic Housing Business Manager, female, local housing authority.

Another respondent pointed to the way in which the nature of service provision determined the type of client who used them:

"I'd say that the type of services you present also shape the kind of situations that get presented to you. In fact, you're naïve if you don't think that. It's a bit of a chicken and egg thing. You have to work with that".

Local Services Manager, male, voluntary sector housing support organisation.

The research evidence gathered for this thesis also demonstrates the way in which the individual runs the risk of becoming subservient to the implementation the statutory homelessness function as part of an *administrative* system:

“It (the homelessness legislation) *has a perverse effect on the provision of services generally. Policy has become focused on the discharge of an administrative function, getting from A to B, or rather A to Z, rather than taking a step back and saying ‘right, this is an individual with individual circumstances’ .”*

Strategic Housing Business Manager, female, local housing authority.

One of the voluntary sector interviewed for the thesis respondents pointed to the way in which the legislation seemed equitably applied yet its dominance in resolving urgent housing problems was potentially disabling for women as it inhibited their ability to seek alternative solutions, such as looking to the private rented sector or other voluntary sector provision:

“I know why the legislation exists and in the way that it has been interpreted, it hasn’t disadvantaged women particularly, it’s fairly applied, I think. The problem is that it (the homelessness legislation) *allows women to believe there is only the one answer.”*

Refuge Manager, female, voluntary sector organisation.

In theory, applications as homeless do not have to be made in person. The local authority duty arises when a local authority has reason to believe someone is homelessness. This duty may be triggered by a telephone call from the person or indeed a third party. However, one respondent interviewed for the study demonstrated how applications are still frequently made in person, a culture which presents significant problems for women with children without support:

"If you have to flee and apply as homeless, you have to bring your child with you to the housing office which doesn't really cater for children. Single parents often use public transportation systems and trying to find your way around that with children is very difficult".

Local Services Manager, male, voluntary sector housing support organisation.

Table 23 summaries the links between homelessness legislation, welfare regimes and gender in England:

Table 23: Homelessness Legislation, Prevailing Welfare Regimes and Relevance to Gender in England.

Legislation	Prevailing Welfare Regime	Principal Characteristics	Relevance to Gender and Welfare Regimes
Homeless Persons Act 1977.	"Old" Labour, corporatist welfare.	First piece of legislation to afford housing rights to homeless households by creating local authority statutory duty to house "priority need" households. Secured all party approval but threatened because of Labour's slim majority. Private member's bill, intentional homelessness clause inserted to ensure safe parliamentary passage.	Emerged from women's rights movements of 1960s and 1970s. Followed vociferous campaigning by cross section of organisations, namely voluntary and religious groups (the latter points to importance of conservative values). Initially tabled as a private members bill by Stephen Ross Lib Dem MP. Designed to reinforce conventional role of the "family." Families who had to live separately because of housing circumstances were classed as statutorily homeless. Presence of children or being a pregnant woman afforded immediate priority. First woman's refuge opened in Chiswick in 1971 in the wake of the feminist movement.

			No explicit provision for victims of domestic violence.
Housing Act 1985 Part III.	Neoliberalist.	Strengthened priority need categories and duty to provide advice and assistance. Publication of first Code of Guidance for local authorities.	Further promoted notions of the family. Beginnings of a homelessness preventative agenda for local authorities.
Housing Act 1996 Part VII.	Neoliberalist.	Removal of right to permanent accommodation.	Removal of right to permanent accommodation even if accepted as statutorily homeless. Disproportionately impacted on families and lone parents as main consumers of homelessness services.
Homeless Persons Act 2002.	New Labour – The Third Way; communitarianism (Blair 1997 – 2007). Progressive universalism (Brown 1997 – present).	Restoration of right to permanent accommodation. Creation of domestic violence as distinct category of "priority need" assistance.	Explicit policy measures to protect victims of domestic violence including the controversial sanctuary schemes. Implementation of the Supporting People programme which recognized domestic violence as distinct priority group triggered a short term increase in service providers

5.8 Theories of Citizenship in England: Women and Homelessness

The liberalist regime has proven to be a double edged sword for homeless women in England. It is the only country from the three case studies to have established dedicated legislation for homeless groups (although note the recent implementation of the *Loi DALO* in France in 2008). Given that lone parents are the group most likely to use these legislative provisions, this enforceable right to housing is critical in enabling homeless women to secure alternative accommodation when confronted with a housing crisis.

Substantial progress has been made since the Homeless Persons Act 1977 was introduced in 1977. The legislation has been effective in capturing priority need groups such as lone parents and single women who have experienced domestic violence. The legislative framework has also increasingly recognised domestic violence as a discrete category for priority need. England's liberalist regime has also meant that the voluntary homelessness sector has played an advocacy role in highlighting the deficiencies of the legislative provisions for single women and lone parents. This has resulted in the revisions of the legislation to include domestic violence as a discrete category and an increase supply of accommodation, notably under the Supporting People regime introduced in 2003.

Despite the progressive nature of England's homelessness legislation relative to Ireland and France, the Marshallian vision of citizenship as being *"a status bestowed on those who are full members of a community."* (Marshall, 1950) has not yet been realised in respect of women and single parent families who encounter homelessness. Research evidence shows that although lone parents are the group most likely to apply as homeless under the legislation, they are also one of the groups most likely to bear the brunt of disparaging political discourse, a discourse that becomes even more inflammatory when there is a shortage of housing. During Thatcher's neoliberalist reign, the commodification of social housing negatively impacted on women and in particular on lone parents given the much documented limitations of the market failed in providing

housing solutions. Social protection measures did include vulnerable groups such as families. But although the presence of children may engage welfare machinery through the homelessness route, the shortage of social housing following under investment during the Thatcher era has led spatial inequalities in social housing whereby lone parents who are rehoused through the homeless route are over represented amongst England's social housing tenants. These spatial inequalities persist today (CLG, 2009a and CLG 2009b).

5.9 Homelessness Legislation - The Irish Context

The Republic of Ireland and France share the broad welfare typology conservative corporatism (Esping Anderson 1993;1996;1999 and 2006). Yet the critical review of the variation homeless rights demonstrates the fundamental differences between the two countries in their welfare response to homeless women. Whilst France is a liberal republic, Ireland manifests distinct elements of the conservative model, notably the morality reflected by role of the Catholic Church in shaping welfare policy related to marriage and therefore conventional models of the family. Such morality directly impacts on the options open to women at the point of housing crisis in Ireland. The corporate component of Ireland's assigned welfare typology became increasingly significant on the advent of the Celtic Tiger economy in the 1990s. In 2009, notions of social partnership (*pairtíocht sóisialta*) and in particular the "Voluntary Community Pillar" have emerged as key elements of welfare policy in a country where state sponsored social protection has historically been weak. This model is now used as one of the principal vehicles for the promotion of affordable housing and homelessness strategies in Ireland, alongside policy approaches which draw on European and more global policy approaches.

In addition, Ireland is the only country in this analysis whereby state homelessness responsibilities may be explicitly linked back to health authorities. The first piece of legislation to enshrine rights for homeless households was the Health Act 1951. The Act placed a duty on health authorities to provide emergency accommodation for those who were literally roofless. To this day, health authorities play a key role on the delivery of homelessness services although local authorities are now the lead agency as a result of the implementation of the Housing Act 1988.

In the English case study, the awakening of the public conscience of homelessness emerged alongside calls for social reform focusing on gender and race during the 1960s and 1970s. The homelessness voluntary sector began to find its political voice in the 1960s and 1970s in England, resulting in

the emergence of the refuge movement. Ireland's voluntary sector was, by comparison, much substantially less vocal at this time. But significantly, Ireland's leading homelessness voluntary sector organisation, the Simon Community, was established during this period. The first Simon Community, formed in 1969, was set up by Franciscan monks who were working with the poor on the banks of the River Liffey (Merchant Quay Ireland, 2009). These religious motifs alongside an emphasis on male street homelessness continue to dominate Ireland's homelessness systems today.

Feminist debates in Ireland take a very different shape when compared to the English and French equivalent by focusing on more fundamental human rights issues. De Ronghe (2007) perceives the Irish approach to women's rights and reproductive choices as being *"among the most restrictive and oppressive legal regimes in the world. If the Irish Family Planning Association (IFPA) has anything to do with it, however, women will realize full reproductive rights in the foreseeable future"*

(De Ronghe, 2007, page 1).

The work of Scanlan (2006) points to the way in which the Irish feminist campaigns were largely motivated by the banning of the contraceptive pill in the 1960s and a (failed) campaign to legalise abortion. There was a breakthrough in 1980 when the *"Woman's Right to Choose Group"* launched a pregnancy counselling service but this was vociferously challenged by powerful Catholic conservative organisations which accused the service of destroying traditional family values. These influential groups deferred to the both 1861 Defences Against Persons Act which cited abortion and the Irish constitution (Cochrane, 2001) and vociferously condemned the groups for undermining the government and the welfare state (Cochrane, ibid). The first Woman's Aid refuge did not open in Ireland (this was in town of Rathmines outside Dublin) until 1986, fifteen years after the enactment of domestic violence provisions in England law. Robust legal measures to tackle domestic violence were not introduced until

1996 in the form of the Domestic Violence Act 1996, twenty years after the English equivalent. Although the Family Law Act was implemented in Ireland 1976, this was a civil remedy against perpetrators of domestic violence. Under the Act's provisions, victims were required to report the offence to the *Gardai* and apply for injunctions but crucially domestic violence was not considered a criminal offence thereby reinforcing the role of the state in sustaining the family structure.

There is no evidence, despite meticulous research undertaken for this thesis, that teenage parents were subject to the same political demonisation in Ireland as they did in the English case study. Fullerton's comprehensive review of research evidence published in 2004 on teenage parents in Ireland makes no mention of such an ideological association. This may reflect the enduring respect for the archetypal Irish mother epitomised by the Virgin Mary in Catholicism given that sex outside marriage is still frowned upon by the Catholic Church.

The advent of the Celtic Tiger economy in the early 1990s has clearly aligned the country to a more liberalist model. Such unprecedented economic growth clearly further accentuated the corporate dimension of Ireland's prevailing welfare typology. But this was a distinctly Irish form of liberalism which emphasised free market economic principles not matched with liberalist housing rights. In the Republic, the Housing Act 1988 remains the principal legislative instrument. But crucially, the Act does not afford an absolute right to housing. Whilst the French conservative corporatist regime introduced the *Loi DALO*, following a short period of vociferous campaigning by the voluntary sector during 2003 – 2007, Ireland has yet even to debate the introduction of such a right. One homelessness worker interviewed for this thesis pointed to the lack of any infrastructure in supporting an enforceable proposed right to housing for homeless groups in Ireland:

"I don't know how the system here would cope if there was a legal right to housing for women or any group if you're homeless. The system is bursting at the seams as it is. We'd all really need to get our act together fast."

Outreach Worker, female, local authority.

The Irish Housing Act 1988 places a broad responsibility on the shoulders of local housing authorities to provide emergency accommodation in partnership with health boards. Local authorities are obliged to undertake periodic assessments of housing need and homelessness in their area. They must also have a social housing allocations framework (O' Sullivan, 2008).

Section 2 of the Housing Act 1988 states that a person should be considered to be homeless if:

a) There is no accommodation available which, in the opinion of the authority, he, together with any other person who normally resides with him or who might reasonably be expected to reside with him, can reasonably occupy or remain in occupation of, or

b) He is living a hospital, county home, night shelter or other such institution, and is so living because he has no accommodation of the kind referred to in paragraph (a), or

c) He is, in the opinion of the authority, unable to provide accommodation from his own resources.

(Note use of 'he' in the legislation).

In Ireland, health authorities play a key role in the delivery of homelessness services. The Health Act 1953 was the first principal piece of legislation to place a duty on Irish health authorities to provide emergency shelter to those people who were literally roofless. This relationship between health and housing continues to feature heavily within homelessness systems in Ireland but precise

role and responsibilities of the two agencies remain ambiguous (O' Sullivan, 2008). Here, Ireland differs substantially from the England (where homelessness processes are led by local housing authorities through discrete legislation) and France (where the powers afforded by *Loi Besson* have been recently replaced by the *Loi DALO* in 2008 although the precise mechanics of implementation have yet to be finalised). As in the English case study, the voluntary sector has played a role in providing a definition of homelessness other than that contained in the legislation. Interestingly, in Ireland, leading voluntary sector organisations defer to the European definition of homelessness as advocated by FEANTSA (European Organisation Working With the Homeless), reflecting the influence of European policy making processes in the Irish context. Focus Ireland subscribes to the ETHOS definition, a European concept of homelessness which classifies people according to their living situation. This definition talks about being "out of home" rather than being "homeless" thereby promoting a very different discourse when compared with the English equivalent by suggesting an ousting or eviction process. It also includes rooflessness (those sleeping rough or who are otherwise literally roofless and "houselessness" (people experiencing what is termed "severe exclusion" in the document due to insecure tenancies and evictions). Victims of domestic violence are also placed in this category which acknowledges that even though someone may have the legal right to occupy a property, s/he may still be seen as homeless. Those living in inadequate housing, including illegal campsites, unfit housing and extreme overcrowding, are also included in this definition.

Ireland's progress towards the implementation of an enforceable right to housing has moved at a glacial pace. Even in 2010, the country's homeless policies have focused largely on notions of male rooflessness with a significant proportion of hostels providing emergency accommodation without any integrated support (Homeless Dublin, 2010). Concerns about a visible increase in street homelessness were first mooted in the 1980s in Ireland. Writing at this time, Harvey highlighted the way in which images of homelessness were

dominated by tramps, vagrants, elderly men and dropouts (O Sullivan, 2003), reinforcing stereotypical notions of homelessness as confined to the literally roofless. Such dominant images in the public psyche have implications for homeless women who frequently source private solutions to their immediate housing difficulties. A survey of rough sleepers in Dublin 2008 showed that only a third of recorded rough sleepers were women (O' Sullivan, 2008). Ireland's tradition of catering to the single roofless is now beginning to have repercussions for homeless families, a substantial proportion of whom are lone parents with a female head of household. According to Focus Ireland, a key voluntary organisation working with homeless groups, there were no hostels suitable for families in the capital city Dublin (Focus Ireland, 2000).

A more strategic approach began to merge in the mid 1990s which recognised that homelessness was more than a housing problem. The Irish government has published two substantial strategic planning documents related to homelessness, neither of which held any statutory status and therefore not enforceable. The first was entitled the "Homelessness Initiative" which outlined a more strategic approach using Dublin as a pilot. Health and housing authorities were (and remain) identified the lead agencies as regards the homelessness initiative. The voluntary sector became later involved towards the end of the 1990s. Homeless fora were then established in every county in the Republic as a result of this initiative but despite meticulous research for this thesis, no robust research appears to have been published which evaluates the effectiveness of the fora. The second substantial document, published two years later in 2002, was called *"Homelessness – An Integrated Strategy."* This is still a working document for local authorities but as it has no statutory status its impact has been limited. The strategy requires every local authority to produce a homeless action plan. But the quality of these plans was reportedly highly variable and under a third of authorities including adequate references to preventative work (O'Sullivan, 2008). The document demonstrates the legacy of involving heath authorities so closely with homelessness systems in the past by emphasising the perceived merit of moderating the behaviour of *individuals*

through the provision of remedial measures for people who are registered drug and alcohol users. The dominance of *individual* solutions undermines the institutional problems of housing supply, unaffordability and socio-economic inequalities although these structural issues have been the focus of other research (see for example O'Sullivan and Higgins, 2000; Focus Ireland, 2000). This more strategic approach has prompted an increase in hostel provision. In 2009, a total of twenty nine hostels for homeless women (either single women or single parent families) were documented in the "Homeless Dublin" web site, five of which were to cater for victims of domestic violence and three of which were for women with drug and alcohol related problems (Homeless Dublin, 2009).

In addition, whilst France has proactively promoted the notion of *la natalitie* as part of its overall welfare policy arguably to promote social cohesion, Ireland adopted a much more conservative approach. Economic freedom by virtue of the Celtic Tiger has not necessarily been matched with a newly found equality for women. As one Irish hostel manger respondent noted:

"Ireland may have changed a lot in the last few years – in some ways, it's barely recognisable as a country – there's so many different ethnic groups here now. But in others ways, it's still stuck in the dark ages. If you've a failed marriage behind you, society will frown upon you. Things like that keep us far being England in terms of progress on homelessness law".

Hostel Supervisor, male, voluntary sector.

The research for this thesis has demonstrated how existing legislation is viewed by homelessness professionals in Ireland as largely ineffectual. As one respondent proclaimed, the lack of an enforceable right for housing runs the risk of encouraging professional apathy amongst those working with homeless women which barley engages minimal expectations:

“I wouldn’t consider the (homelessness) *legislation to be that effective for women in the Republic – it is too vague, you can get away with doing very little to help”.*

House Supervisor (Hostel), male, NGO (voluntary sector).

The lack of explicit rights afforded to homeless women, in the words of one respondent, had led to confusion on the route to follow when faced with housing crisis:

“There’s not really a right to housing in Cork if you’re a homeless woman ….women just seem to sort of muddle through and come out of the system the other end”.

Outreach Worker, female, local authority.

The second more recent national strategy entitled *"A Way Home: A Strategy To Address Adult Homelessness In Ireland 2008 – 2013"* has imported models of the continuum of homelessness based on existing policies in Austin County, Texas and Western European approaches to defining homelessness (Department of the Environment, Heritage and Government, 2008; also see Department of the Environment, Heritage and Government 2007). This overall approach proposed for Ireland's homelessness strategy draws on both the Texan model which vigorously promotes individual solutions to homelessness, whereby the individual is encouraged to seek drug rehabilitation services and secure paid employment. The strategy also refers to the European ETHOS in its typology of homelessness. Significantly, references to institutional and structural causes of homelessness feature much less prominently other than a cursory reference to the *"lack of jobs, low wages, lack of affordable housing weak family ties"* as a catalyst to housing deprivation (DEHG, 2008, page 83). The strategy contains clear proposals based on the revision of the definition of homelessness in Ireland. But commentary as regards specific needs groups such as single women or lone parents are woefully lacking (the refuge movement is mentioned

once as one of the partners in the strategy). The discerning characteristics of the Irish approach to homelessness Does the lack of an enforceable right for homeless groups at the nation state level inevitably lead to a tendency to seek more individual rather than structural solutions to homelessness for women, resulting in an overt emphasis of solutions such as support against drug and alcohol abuse? Does it invariably prompt a blinkered view of solutions based on models in USA and/or Europe in the absence of an alternative or a political will at the national level to introduce a right to housing for homeless groups and within this, to prioritise people with children or victims of domestic violence? What is clear that Esping Andersen's broad typology of welfare regime fails to recognise the increasing relevance of European and American policy influences within the homelessness context.

5.10 Theories of Citizenship in Ireland: Women and Homelessness

Rights for homeless women are substantially underdeveloped in the Republic of Ireland. Critically, there is no enforceable right to housing for homeless women. Existing legislation (Housing Act 1988) was viewed by the homelessness professionals interviewed for this thesis as largely ineffectual. More importantly, the research evidence in this thesis suggests that the lack of an enforceable right has allowed for professional apathy to prevail amongst homelessness staff given that the provision of minimal homelessness support for women is the norm.

The minimal level of Marshallian citizenship rights have yet to be attained in respect of homeless women in Ireland. Both European and international policy processes are becoming increasingly relevant in underpinning social protection measures but these have not extended to homelessness rights. Yet Ireland's distinct form of conservative corporatism means that Catholicism continues to dominate the conceptual notions of the family and this is further supported by voluntary sector homelessness services. Given the primitive nature of welfare intervention in the Irish Republic, the voluntary sector plays a disproportionately active role in alleviating homelessness. This sector is dominated by

organisations which are either directly or indirectly linked mainly to the Catholic Church by virtue of their origin and/or management structures.

Lewis (2001) believes that a paradigm shift is required to reflect the emerging importance of European legislative change balanced alongside and women's increasing presence in labour markets with their principal role as carers holds particular relevance to the Irish context. In this regard, a substantial investment in citizenship rights is required in the Republic to readdress the balance. The key challenge for government here is the extent to which citizenship for women may be effectively harmonised with Ireland's distinct conservative corporatism and the country's increasing liberalist economy.

5.11 Homelessness Legislation - The French Context

Although Ireland and France share the same welfare regime identity of conservative corporate, the relative way in which an enforceable right to housing for homeless groups has emerged varies substantially between countries. Here again, Esping-Andersen's welfare regime typology is called into question, not least because of the way in which France is a liberal republic, a significant factor distinguishing its welfare regime from Ireland's. Furthermore, notions of liberalism are distinctly different to those frequently applied to the English context given the unprecedented growth in the Irish economy.

The approach in France overall to homelessness rights closely reflects the country's distinct characteristics of ***liberal conservative corporatism*** underpinned by policy and legislative measures to promote ***solidarity and social cohesion***. Until very recently, the discourse around homelessness in France was embedded in a broad social cohesion rhetoric designed to promote solidarity above all. High profile campaigning by the NGO sector which gathered momentum in 2003 was highly instrumental in the introduction of the *Loi DALO* (*Droit au Logement Opposable* – Enforceable Right to Housing in 2008), France's first enforceable right to housing, some thirty years after the introduction of the English equivalent. French welfare policy sought to enshrine rights to housing through its broad constitutional framework. Crucially, unlike England's post war provisions, measures to protect against homelessness are viewed as a social rather than an explicit housing right. Welfare approaches reflect this broad commitment to social rights. The following extract from the French constitution from October 1946 shows how mothers and children were explicitly placed at the centre of the discourse around social protection measures:

"The Nation shall provide the individual and family with the conditions necessary to their development. It shall guarantee to all, notably to children mothers and elderly workers, protection of their health, material security, rest and leisure. All people, who by virtue of their age, physical or mental condition or economic situation, are incapable of working, shall have the right to receive suitable means of existence from society."

(cited in Loison, 2007, page 2).

France's conservative corporatist welfare typology, like its Irish counterpart, has meant that strategic approaches to homelessness have been negligible. The events of *Mai 68* were highly significant in prompting a social protection measures based on both solidarity and equality but failed to tackle housing exclusion as an explicit area worthy of social protection. During *Mai 68*, the *classes dangeureuses* (politicised working classes) organised a series of well documented student protests and a general strike which eventually led to the demise of the De Gaulle government. These events signalled a substantial shift in social welfare policy from the prevailing conservative morality to an era which focused more on broad equality and solidarity measures. As in England, the feminist movement in France gathered momentum in the 1960s (Bourg, 2007). The introduction of single parent benefits in 1977 in France went some way to acknowledging the need to support women with children who were living independently from former male partners. The events of *Mai 68* did give rise to the introduction of the Winter Plan Against Poverty 1987, a strategy which resulted in the provision of emergency hostels in each department in France. (Firdion and Marpsat, 2003). These provisions were later strengthened by Social Exclusion Act 1998 which provides financial assistance for young unemployed, homeless people (Vranken, 2005). France's post war commitment to *la natalité* (the notion of motherhood) women became further developed in 1989 when regional women's rights offices were introduced across the country to deal with domestic violence (*Commissions départementales d'action contre les violences faites aux femmes – Department Commissions to Combat*

Domestic Violence Against Women). These offices seek to promote interdisciplinary work between state and voluntary sector organizations which work with victims of domestic violence. The offices focus on accommodation, training and awareness and come under the responsibility of the *Ministre à la Parité et à l'Egalité Professionnelle*, (Minister for Equal Opportunities) or more recently, the Department for Social Cohesion and Parity but the regional impact varies (Amnesty International, 2009).

Subsequent legislation vigorously promoted the broad notion of housing inclusion but not explicitly homelessness. The implementation of the Quillot Act 1982 reiterated the overall commitment to the provision of housing those in need in France but did not contain explicit homelessness provisions. Commentators have pointed to the critical importance of the *Loi Besson* 1990 in beginning to promote an explicit right to housing (Loison, 2007; Firdion and Marpsat (2007). Yet as the right was far from unequivocal and in reality non enforceable, it served to reaffirm France's commitment to its broad welfare typology of conservative corporatism manifested through welfare policy focused on solidarity.

Article 1 of the *Loi Besson* reaffirms the French government's commitment to the conservative corporatist welfare regime by highlighted the provision of housing as a means to support national solidarity and social cohesion:

"(Le) garantir le droit au logement constitue un devoir de solidarité pour l'ensemble de la nation".

"The guarantee of a right to housing is a duty of solidarity for the whole nation."

(Text of the *Loi Besson* from Francenet, 2009 translated by the author).

Artilce 1 of The *Loi Besson* 1990 also emphasises the way in which poverty and homelessness are interrelated and highlights the role of municipalities to homeless households in developing their annual action plans:

“Toute personne ou famille éprouvant des difficultés particulières, en raison notamment de l'inadaptation de ses ressources ou de ses conditions d'existence, a droit à une aide de la collectivité, dans les conditions fixées par la présente loi, pour accéder à un logement décent et indépendant ou s'y maintenir”.

“Every person or family who is in particular housing difficulties who, because of lack of resources or circumstances, has the right to collective assistance in accordance with the current law, to access decent, independent housing which may be sustained. "

Francenet (ibid) translated by the author.

The implementation of the *Loi Besson* arguably signalled the beginning of a more liberalist approach to homelessness rights in France. Notions of the family were enshrined in the legislation but the presence of children did not guarantee social protection through homelessness provisions as in the English case. Nor was the implementation of the right matched with the necessary infrastructure, such as proper recourse to legal challenge or additional emergency resources for municipalities or the NGO sector to make it enforceable by law. One of the French homelessness professionals interviewed for this study who worked in the voluntary sector reiterated this view:

" Dans les lois récents mais ces lois sont difficiles a appliquer (la réquisition de logement vide) Il n’y pas assez de construction de logements sociaux ".

"There have been recent laws but these law are difficult to enforce (the reusing of empty housing). There aren’t enough units of social housing being built."

Manager, Female, voluntary sector refuge for single women and women with children, Lyon.

Social protection for homeless groups was also enshrined in legislation designed broadly to combat social exclusion in the form of the Anti-Exclusion Act 1998. Here, the legislation focused on the prevention of eviction, the reform of housing allocation and tackling empty homes (Loison, 2007). But as these were diverse measures and again, largely unenforceable, they did little to promote a more liberalist rights agenda for homeless groups. Visible manifestations of male homelessness (*les sans domicile au sens restreint* - literally homeless) dominated the policy arena (Marpsat (2000; 2001; 2006a; 2006b) rendering women's homelessness invisible in political discourse. This long standing emphasis on roofless has undoubtedly shaped the definitions of homelessness used by the municipality and voluntary sector in France. These definitions hold further importance given that there is no legislative definition in France which may impact in opportunities and constraints present in remedies for homelessness at the operational and strategic level. Firdion and Marpsat's work published in 2004 outlined the definition of homelessness used in surveys conducted principally by the *Institut National d'études Démographiques* (INED) and the *Institut National de la Statistique et des études économiques* (INSEE). INSEE is France's large government department responsible for statistical analysis of sociodemographic data. The INED reworks INSEE's data and operates at a more international level. In INSEEE and INED's research, enumerative evaluations based on levels of street homelessness and emergency voluntary sector hostel occupancy, including *les centres maternels* (women's hostels) feature heavily to the detriment of qualitative reviews.

The introduction of an enforceable right to housing in England has clearly impacted on definitions adopted by the voluntary sector and it is highly likely that this will happen in France as the *Loi DALO* becomes more deeply embedded. The notion of an explicit, enforceable right to housing was first mooted in France around 2004, following vigorous campaigning by NGO homeless groups at a national and European level. The Government Framework Act for Social Cohesion 2005 and the National Commitment to Housing Act were both instrumental in promoting the notion of homelessness rights *per se* (Loison, 2007), once more demonstrating the importance of social cohesion in promoting an

agenda more closely aligned with liberalist values. A high profile media campaign involving illegal tent encampments on the banks of the Saint Martin canal in France in Paris in the winter of 2006 further fuelled the cause. The campaign was studiously orchestrated to coincide with the national elections in France Media coverage at this time shows depicts principally representations of male homelessness (see Ryan, 2007). Political embarrassment was such that by January 2007, the French President Jacques Chirac proclaimed that there would be a new enforceable right to housing for all groups and Bill No 2007-290 was published in March 2007. The new legislation is designed to *"put France in the ranks of the most advanced countries for social rights" (*De Villepin, 2007, page 1). The impetus to implement a right to housing in France may well have been initially motivated principally by the need to protect the government from further embarrassment rather than as an equality instrument. Although not explicitly linked to national homelessness policy, a national strategy designed to combat domestic violence was launched in 2005, the *Plan Global de Lutte Contre les Violences Faites Aux Femmes (2005-2007: Dix Mesures Pour l'Autonomie des Femmes*, Comprehensive Plan for Tackling Violence Against Women (2005-2007): Ten Steps towards Women's Autonomy. Although this proactive approach has been welcomed by professionals working in the field although disappointingly, little progress appears to have been made regards implementation of the plan (Amnesty International, 2009).

The first tranche of the *Loi DALO* provisions was implemented in December 2008. Eligibility criteria remain broad although no doubt these will become more prescriptive as more applications are made under the DALO provisions. To be eligible for assistance, applicant must be of French nationality and not able to access housing through their own means. Applicants must also show a certificate to demonstrate that they have applied for social housing. The new law has introduced the notion of priority groups which approximate to the English equivalent in the Housing Act 1996 Part 7. These groups are those who are: literally roofless and lone mothers who have at least one dependent child. It is not clear yet whether single parents with a male head of household will be eligible.

Other priority need groups are people facing eviction with little prospect of securing alternative accommodation, those living in substandard or unfit accommodation and people with disabilities. Crucially, it is not clear whether single fathers will qualify for assistance. The *Loi DALO* also contains the right for French homeless households to sue the Government should municipalities fail to meet their statutory duty. There will also be an internal appeals process should initial applications to municipalities result in a negative homelessness decision. Although this culture of appeal is well established in England through the process of judicial review and increasingly human rights legislation (Human Rights Act 1998) to assist aggrieved homeless applicants, it is unchartered territory for French homelessness professionals.

How might the welfare state become modified in France following the implementation of the *Loi DALO*? Goodchild writing in 2003 suggested that both the role of the social housing sector (namely the HLMs) and the voluntary sector will require close scrutiny should an enforceable right to housing be implemented in France. This remains poignant in 2010. The existence of the right is insufficient in itself. Drawing on the English experience of such legislation, political commitment, financial investment in additional bed spaces in emergency hostels staff by trained professionals and rigorous monitoring, is required to ensure that the law is effective. A more prominent role for the voluntary sector is likely to emerge in meeting demand. As one on the French refuge managers succinctly put it:

" La reconnaissance (le droit de logement) ne veut pas dire qu'il y a assez d'action. La reconnaissance n'est pas suffice".

"Recognising it (the right to housing) doesn't mean that enough action is taken".

Manager (Male) of Municipality Refuge for Women with Children, Lyon.

The European homeless campaigning group FEANTSA took the opportunity in December 2008 to publicise a recorded 33 per cent increase in the numbers of women presenting at homeless hostels in Paris between 1999 – 2008 (FEANTSA, 2008). But there has been little other media cover of homeless women in France.

5.12 Theories of Citizenship in France: Women and Homelessness

France's commitment to social cohesion arguably signals the beginning of a broader liberalist rights agenda. But it is an exaggeration to say that this agenda has eclipsed role of social cohesion in shaping France's welfare policy. Gender equality as manifested by the significance of la natalité sets France apart from England and Ireland in this study by overtly valuing the contribution of women as mothers to wider social and economic objectives. This emphasis in social protection suggests a distinct French brand of social citizenship which differs significantly to English notions of citizenship given the French welfare commitment to social cohesion (see Béland and Hansen, 2000).

5.13 Housing Rights, Women and Homelessness Statistics

The introduction of an enforceable right to housing in England has directly resulted in the collation and analysis of comprehensive statistics by central and local government. Crucially, the publication of these statistics in the public domain mean that women's homelessness may now longer be invisible. Local authorities are required to complete P1E returns which provide comprehensive demographic data on applicants awarded assistance under the legislation. The categories for this data reflect those prescribed in the homelessness legislation. The data is then collated and disseminated by Communities and Local Government Department, the lead department for housing in England. This data is readily available on the CLG's web site. According to the government’s own statistics in 2008/9, just under half (44 per cent) of all statutory homelessness acceptances were single parents families. By contrast, couples with children comprised only 19 per cent of applicants. This has been a consistent trend in the CLG’s statistics since 1997 (CLG, 2009c). Households where there is at least one dependent child or where the woman is pregnant accounted for the majority of applicants in 2008/09 (69 per

cent). Applicants fleeing violence from a partner are just under over one tenth of all applicants (12 per cent) (CLG, ibid). These statistics do not specify where these applicants are male or female but the majority of victims are women) Data such as these play a vital role in identifying the nature and extent of women's homelessness, influencing policy and therefore the allocation of scare public resources to support further appropriate short and long term accommodation. The data also colludes to conceal need. For example, single women are not included unless they are defined as being in "priority need" under the legislation.

Table 24 provides a summary of the statistics compiled by the CLG which show reasons for homelessness acceptances by local authorities in 2008/09. Note the recorded decrease between 1997 – 2008 in levels of acceptances where domestic violence is cited as a reason for homelessness, despite the introduction of a specific category in the homelessness legislation for victims of domestic violence in 2002.

Table 24: Reasons for Homelessness (Acceptances) 1997 - 2008								
	No of Households Accepted	Relatives/ Friends Not Able Accommodate	Domestic Violence	Relationship Breakdown No Violence	Mortgage Arrears	Rent Arrears	End of Assured Shorthold Tenancy	Other
1997	102,000	27	18	7	6	2	13	27
1998	104,630	27	18	7	6	3	15	24
1999	105,370	28	17	7	5	3	14	26
2000	111,340	30	16	7	3	3	15	26
2001	117,830	33	15	7	3	3	15	23
2002	123,840	34	14	7	2	3	14	26
2003	135,590	36	13	7	1	2	13	28
2004	127,760	38	13	7	2	2	13	25
2005	100,170	37	13	7	3	2	14	24
2006	76,860	37	13	7	3	2	14	24
2007	64,970	36	13	6	4	2	15	23
2008	57,510	36	12	6	4	2	14	25

Adapted from CLG (2009c).

Critically, in Ireland and France, no such equivalent data exists. Given this gap, the role of the voluntary sector in acting as social policy agents becomes even more significant. Generally, enumerative head counts of rough sleepers remain a popular approach in Ireland in measuring homelessness alongside snap shot approaches in estimating the number of groups in urgent housing need using the definition of homelessness contained within the Housing Act 1988. Given that women are generally less visible as rough sleepers than men, this method is inherently gender blind. Both local housing and health authorities collate statistics on homeless households in Ireland but this data is confined to those groups who qualify for assistance under the Housing Act 1988. In addition, although housing authorities lead in the provision of bricks and mortar assistance and health authorities on the care and support element for homeless households, there are no robust mechanisms for the collation and exchange of statistics between the two. Until roles are more clearly defined between housing and health and enshrined in legislation and enforceable protocols, the quality of data on homelessness in Ireland is destined to far short of that in England. The emergence of the National Homelessness Actions Plans may promote the collation and analysis of high quality data although Norris and Redmond (2005)

are far from optimistic that the Action Plans will have an immediate effect on data analysis.

In France, the recently implemented *Loi DALO* will no doubt make a difference to the way in which data is maintained by municipalities although substantial progress in the development of mechanisms to fulfil the new duty is required (Goodchild, 2003). As In the Irish case study, data collation on homelessness in France to data has, to date, deployed quantitative measures in assessing need. In particular, the surveys undertaken by the *Institut National Des Études Démographiques* (INED) have been influential in giving an insight into levels of street homelessness. The work of Marpsat (2000; 2001; 2006a; 2006b) is also insightful in providing information on *les sans domicile au sens restreint* (literally homeless) and her writing in 2000 gives a useful account of some challenges faced by homeless women in France. In addition, FEANTSA 's work published in 2000 entitled *"Femmes Sans Domicile – Rapport Nationale de la France"* (Women Without Homes: National Report for France) began to highlight the extent of the problem. The work called for special consideration to be given by the research community in examining the problems encountered by homeless women is made explicit in FEANTSA's 2000) research report:

"Les femmes sont soumises aux mêmes contraintes, aux mêmes problèmes que l'ensemble des personnes sans domicile. Ces problématiques étant déjà largement décrites par ailleurs, nous avons essayé de chercher quelles sont les ***spécificités proprement féminines*** (original emphasis). *En effet, les particularités des femmes, noyées dans la masse des hommes sans abri, ne peuvent apparaître sans une étude indépendante".*

"Women are subjected to the same constraints, to the same problems which confront all homeless groups. Since these problems have already been well documented elsewhere, we have tried (in the report) *to look for the issues which relate specifically to women. In effect, the characteristics of the women,*

drowned in the mass of the men without shelter, cannot be highlighted without an independent study."

(Translated by the author from FEANTSA, 2000, page 26).

5. 14 Housing Rights and Notions of Citizenship: A Comparative Summary

Chapter Five has demonstrated the relevance of debates on citizenship to this comparative review of women and homelessness. France shares Ireland's welfare regime identity of conservative corporatism. Like Ireland, there is no enforceable right to housing for homeless households in France, including lone parents and single women. The notion of *la natalité* (motherhood) remains central the implementation of social protection measures designed to support women with children. This distinguishes France's welfare approach from that of England's and Ireland's. Both France and Ireland have sought to embed homelessness as part of other broader social protection measures. In France, legislation more in keeping with France's social cohesion agenda but has acted as a prelude to discrete homelessness legislation (the *Loi Besson* in 1990 which was not enforceable and more recently the *Loi DALO* which is intended to be enforceable). But Ireland has not sought to introduce an equivalent right and homelessness policy remains very broad and enmeshed with measures designed to combat poverty drawing heavily from European typologies of homelessness.

The advent of the *Loi DALO* marks a substantial shift in the citizenship agenda in France and a suggests a will to promote a more neoliberalist ideal of freedom rights (King, 2003) but with France's distinct take on social citizenship. Given that the *Loi DALO* has just recently been implemented in France, it represents the first tier of citizenship in Stewart's (1995) analysis of formal citizenship for lone parents with a female head of household. Reflections on Stewart's proposition (1995) that independent citizenship may be more apparent following effective implementation of the *Loi DALO* are interesting here but are destined to remain more firmly aligned with models of social citizenship. The new homeless legislation in France is likely to generate an awakening off debates housing

inequalities on the grounds of gender in France, vocalised by the NGO and academic sectors.

Chapter Six, Seven, Eight and Nine which follow focus on the key triggers to homelessness amongst women. Chapter Six focuses on domestic violence and relationship breakdown. Chapter Seven examines and reviews domestic violence and relationship breakdown. Poverty as a trigger is the topic of Chapter Seven and lone parents the subject of Chapter Eight.

Chapter Six begins by identifying key feminist debates relevant to domestic violence and social policy. The chapter then links these debates to housing and homelessness using primary data as evidence where appropriate.

CHAPTER SIX: DOMESTIC VIOLENCE AND RELATIONSHIP BREAKDOWN AS PRIMARY TRIGGERS

6.1 Summary

Chapter Six focuses on domestic violence, relationship breakdown within the context of women's housing exclusion in the three countries. The chapter begins by presenting key debates relevance to domestic violence, feminism and social policy. The chapter continues by highlighting some key explanations related to domestic violence then continues by focusing on the three individual case study countries. Commentary on definitions, data and legislation on domestic violence in each country is provided and primary data from the interviews with the homelessness professionals in the three countries is interwoven into the narrative to provide evidence of a phenomenon in all three countries. Similarities and differences between countries are emphasised.

6.2 Feminism, Social Policy and Domestic Violence

Notions of home in common parlance may carry the positive connotations of security, protection and safety but when domestic violence occurs, the home assumes a very different identity. Domestic violence has remained a central issue in feminist circles for many years despite increased awareness surrounding the problem and the implementation of more robust legislation designed to both protect the victim and punish the perpetrator. Relationship breakdown, although traumatic, arguably remains more palatable for policy makers where the distortion of power relationships between men and women are substantially less accentuated . Pascall (1997) describes how domestic violence epitomises the imbalance of socioeconomic power which exists between men and women, an imbalance which traverses from public to the private spheres:

"The structures of the public world are reflected in the private. While male violence is in part sustained by violence at home, it is also sustained by breadwinner status in the public world. The other side of this coin is that women's experience of violence at home is conditioned by their lack of resources outside the family".
Pascall (1997), page 53.

As Hamner (2001) notes, accounts of feminism and social policy on the issue of domestic violence tend to misguidedly place women's oppression at the centre of the analysis rather than focusing on the way in which domestic violence benefits men:

"The advantages men gain from violence have been known for some time with both service provision to women and research demonstrating certain key elements. However, these elements are usually described as forms of women's oppression rather than personal and social benefits to men".

(Hamner, 2001, page 9).

6.3 Explanations for Domestic Violence

A number of explanations exist which purport to explain why domestic violence remains such a significant, cross cultural problem. The classical feminist explanation emphasises the importance patriarchal systems which perpetuate socioeconomic equalities between men and women. In extreme instances, these inequalities are manifested in the form of male violence. The imperative to retain male institutional power is dominant, reflected in structural ways. Edwards (1996) sums up the feminist position well:

“Domestic violence is the systematic, ahistorical manifestation of male power. It is as immutable and enduring as patriarchy which supported it”.

(Edwards, 1996, page 180).

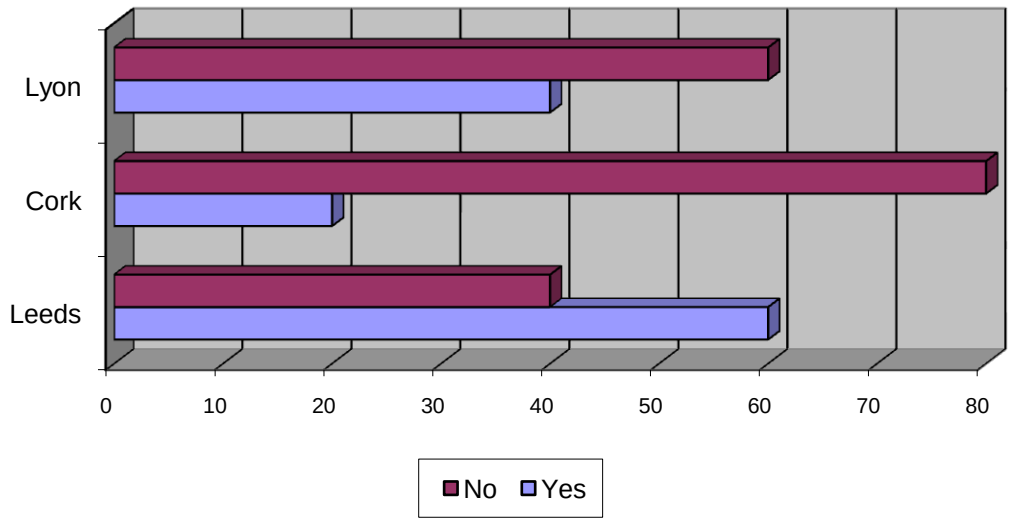
A range of theoretical perspectives have emerged from the English context which seek to explain why male violence against women remains so commonplace. These explanations tend to focus on rational or sociobiological perspectives. Cunningham *et al's* (1998) literature review on the subject provides a robust summary of perspectives relevant to England. At the biological end of the spectrum lies domestic violence as a male retention tactic where a male senses his partner may leave for another man. Clearly, there are enormous difficulties with this explanatory framework, not least that it echoes the refrain of sociobiologists who support the view that male dominance is inevitable in heterosexual relationships because of the physical differences which exist between men and women. The extent to which domestic violence is equally a problem in lesbian and gay relationships refutes this notion. The pioneering research of Ristock (2002) illustrates the widespread nature and frequently misunderstood nature of domestic violence in lesbian relationships. The author makes the point that hostility often manifests itself differently when lesbian partners are involved, notably that. This, Ristock asserts, leads to a trivialisation f domestic abuse in lesbian relationships. patterns of violence are less consistent than in heterosexual relationships acts of violence manifested in different forms. Furthermore, misguided biological perspectives on domestic violence imply that physical abuse may be acceptable in the right set of circumstances. Yet such an apparently unenlightened explanation is not to be dismissed as not being influential. In 1998, the Edinburgh based charity Zero Tolerance undertook a quantitative survey of both young men and women aged 16 – 24 which revealed that 1 out of 3 young men cited the biological imperative to justify violence against a female partner in a specific set of circumstances. Being unfaithful was regarded by some of the young people interviewed for the study as one such circumstances. Even more alarming was the finding that 1 and 5 young women stated that violence was acceptable in some circumstances against other young women. This finding points to a resignation even resignation a collusion amongst young women themselves which supports the soicoeconomic advantages gained by men through acts of aggression against female partners.

Psychopathlogical explanations of domestic violence also feature heavily within Western discourse. Here, rationalisations of violent male behaviour against women refer to experiential phenomenon related principally to damaging childhood experiences of both perpetrator and victim. When other functional deficits (feelings of inadequacy) are present in a different context such as at the work place or within other interpersonal relationships, this may increase the likelihood of a man using violence against a female partner as a controlling device (Cunningham *et al*, 1998). Other explanations known collectively as the systems interventionist approach focus on the breaking cycle within families where the woman is portrayed as passive and the violence remains unchallenged. The systems interventionist approach is resonant of liberal feminist beliefs which emphasise the autonomy of the individual. But this grossly simplifies the dynamics present in households where domestic violence occurs by suggesting that no other factors, such as the fear of homelessness, the prospect of poverty or breaking a social taboo by revealing the violence, are relevant in deciding whether or not to leave a violent partner. Furthermore, the relative importance of these factors may vary from one nation state to the other. Related to this structural approach is the social learning perspective whereby children become aware of how certain actions of antisocial behaviour accomplish the desired results with minimum castigation and how these acts may escalate if they remain unpunished by the parent or guardian. (Cunningham *et al*, 1998). The social learning perspective illustrates the importance of focusing on measures which are targeted towards breaking intergenerational violence.

Analysis of the quantitative surveys has shown that for men and women, the research undertaken for the thesis has shown that domestic violence was most likely to be identified as a primary trigger in Leeds (60 per cent of those interviewed) followed by Lyon (40 per cent). But this applied to one fifth interviewees in Cork (only 20 per cent of all Cork respondents).

In the follow up interviews with the homelessness professionals in. Leeds, respondents much more frequently pointed to the interrelationships between domestic violence and the inefficacies and flaws of the housing system as a whole. The Leeds interviewees more also more likely to highlight the overall strategic nature of the English housing system. A number of respondents expressed scepticism and more developed critical awareness as regards the effectiveness of measures such as overall domestic violence provisions, sanctuary schemes and the broad homelessness prevention agenda in alleviating and protection of women who have become homeless as a result of domestic violence. The Leeds respondents also showed more empathy with both hostel residents and hostel staff than those interviewed in the other two cities.

Chart 14: Perception of Domestic Violence as Primary Trigger
% of Respondents.



In the Lyon case study, further review of the quantitative survey data has shown that respondents were much less inclined than those in Leeds to believe that domestic violence was a key trigger to homelessness amongst women. Although over a third (40 per cent) of those interviewed in Lyon did rank domestic violence as a primary trigger to homelessness, respondents more frequently defaulted back to the overall lack of housing and inadequate housing

support measures as the main reasons for homelessness amongst women. Respondents in Lyon also highlighted the need to promote housing equality between men and women. One respondent in the Lyon case study went as far as to suggest that domestic violence was the only factor which distinguished women's homelessness from men's. In the Cork case study, evidence of the impact of health led homelessness services was in evidence. Here, homelessness managers were most likely to focus on the pathologies of domestic violence, notably how drug and alcohol abuse were also factor in causing housing exclusion. The Irish case study respondents more frequently pointed to the medical profession in providing solutions to women's homelessness. The Cork respondents also more frequently highlighted the negative impact of domestic violence on normative notions of the family.

6.4 Domestic Violence in the English Context

Policy measures on domestic violence in England have a long and rich legacy. Radical feminism which focused on changing patriarchal societal structures prompted step change for women in political and welfare domains in the 1960s and 1970s, resulting in the first piece of legislation to combat domestic violence, the Domestic Violence and Matrimonial Proceedings Act, being passed in 1976. But in the last thirty years, such radicalism has been replaced largely by liberal feminist approaches, culminating to the proposed introduction of the Single Equality Act 2009. The gender provisions of the Act were implemented in Spring 2009 and place a statutory duty on local authorities to mainstream gender equality across all their services. Yet despite far reaching measures, a review of the literature conducted for this thesis clearly shows that domestic violence and in particular, acts of violence carried out by a male perpetrator against women and children, continues to represent an acute problem in England. Victims traverse all ethnic groups, classes, ages and bodily ability boundaries (Lloyd, 1997). Domestic violence effects a range of relationships both within an outside the household and includes instances where violence or threats of violence exist between a range of household members such as between parents and children (and indeed children and parents) as well as carers. Abraham's work

(2007) points to the three levels of loss victims of domestic violence experience: material, emotional and personal loss. The provision of appropriate support for victims of domestic violence continues to represent a significant challenge for homelessness professionals in England today.

Definitions of domestic violence reflect, inevitably, the agendas of the organisations which have constructed them. Women's Aid highly inclusive definition reflects the ethos that abuse takes a range of forms and may originate from a range of people. But what remains at the heart of Women's Aid's view of domestic abuse is the imbalance of power which persists within the relationship dynamic:

"In Women's Aid's view, domestic violence is physical, sexual, psychological or financial violence that takes place within an intimate or family-type relationship and that forms a pattern of coercive and controlling behaviour. This can include forced marriage and so-called 'honour crimes'. Domestic violence may include a range of abusive behaviours, not all of which are in themselves inherently 'violent' ".

(Women's Aid, 2007, page 1).

In recent years, the domestic violence is more commonly placed within the context of the relationship in the home in England rather than within the home itself, hence the reference to a domestic incident. This new understanding of the domestic violence was embodied in the Homelessness Act 2002 which places women in fear of assault from **absentee** partners in one of the revised priority needs groupings.

6.5 Data on Domestic Violence in England

Domestic violence still carries a stigma which inevitably results in under reporting and under resourcing of the problem. Perhaps the most significant outcome feminist activism in the late 1950s and 1960s was the emergence of

the refuge movement in England, most closely associated with the voluntary sector organisation Women's Aid. In 1999, 37 per cent of women homicide victims were killed by present or former partners, compared to just 6 per cent of men. This equates to ninety two women a year, or one every three days or two women per week (Home Office, 1999). Domestic violence accounted for almost a quarter of all violent crime reported to the British Crime Survey in 2000 (Home Office, 2000). Another source suggests, the police receive a call from the public for assistance for domestic violence that every minute in England. This leads to police receiving an estimated 1,300 calls each day or over 570,000 each year (Stanko, 2000).

A consistent theme in the research studies in the 1980s and 1990s was the extent to which the shortage of appropriate accommodation was a major obstacle which disempowered women from leaving a violent, abusive relationship. Early research undertaken in England consistently pointed to the need to provide both short and long term accommodation to victims for domestic violence with the view of securing long term permanent housing. For example, a study commissioned by the Department of the Environment in 1985 concluded that well over half (59 per cent) of women cited *"problems with accommodation"* as the principal reason for returning to violent partners. This was reaffirmed by the work of Binney *et al* (1985) who also reported that many women identified limited housing options as the key obstacle in making the break from a violent relationship. Research commissioned by the homelessness charity Crisis in 1999 further reinforced this view. The Crisis research, based on interviews with 77 homeless women, cited domestic violence as the singular most cited reason for homelessness amongst women aged 30 and over. Other research provides considerable insight into the serious housing difficulties women experience when seeking to secure and sustain accommodation in England (Coy *et al,* 2009; Jones, 1999; Malos and Hague, 1997; Lloyd, 1997; Webb, 1994; Teeside Homeless Action Group, 2002).

Information from the Women's Aid Federation for England (2001) suggested that despite significant progress in recent years in addressing the problem of domestic violence, many women remained very reluctant to leave the matrimonial home or press charges against the assailant. This unwillingness to take action or terminate a relationship is inextricably bound up with the complexities presented in cases of domestic violence. Guilt, confusion and the belief that the women herself somehow deserved to be assaulted are common feelings experienced by victims, particularly those women who have been victimised in long term relationships (Women's Aid, 2003). These feelings are further accentuated by the very real practical problems faced by many women when seeking to leave a violent partner. Evidence from the Women's Federation for England has identified the lack of housing options women face alongside no financial autonomy and serious concerns regarding the bringing up of children in common (Binney *et al*, 1985).

Three of out of the seven homelessness professionals in Leeds interviewed for this thesis case study identified domestic violence as a primary trigger to women's homelessness. One respondent who was employed as a manager of a voluntary sector hostel had taken it upon himself to research over representation of victims of domestic violence amongst his organisation's client base:

"The largest single cause of family homelessness in Leeds is domestic violence. From the research I have done myself on homeless families in Leeds, 60 per cent of households living in the local authority hostel were homeless because of domestic violence in 2007/08".

Local Services Manager, male, voluntary sector housing support organisation.

According to one local authority homelessness manager in Leeds interviewed for this thesis, domestic violence was also the principal reason for

homelessness amongst women. In her view, the problem was not yet being adequately addressed:

"Domestic violence, perpetrated in the vast majority of cases by men against women, is the biggest cause of family homelessness in Leeds. We need to be thinking of ways to offer women choices, real choices. We're just skimming the surface of it".

Strategic Housing Business Manager, male, local housing authority.

The dominance of victims of domestic violence amongst homeless groups was also identified by another of the Leeds respondents:

"I would say the biggest reason for homelessness, without a doubt, is women fleeing violence or an abusive relationship…I find it quite shocking that there is such a high proportion of homeless families that are homeless because they are fleeing abusive relationships".

Social Care Manager, female, Sure Start, social services.

Another respondent suggested that although evidence domestic violence may not always be apparent at the outset when a case is referred for housing support services, it frequently rose to the fore:

"When I look at the families who use our floating support service, domestic violence is nearly always in there somewhere. It may not be the main reason for referral. People may come to you with a different reason, you know, substance misuse or 'I'm not getting on with my child' type problem, but when you start looking, you find that domestic violence, quite often, is a factor within that".

Local Services Manager, male, voluntary sector housing support organisation.

6.6 Legislation to Combat Domestic Violence in England

Prior to the mid 1980s, women were in England were afforded minimal legislative and police protection under the criminal justice system. The key pieces of legislation are: the Domestic Violence; the Matrimonial Proceedings Act 1976, the Domestic Proceedings and Magistrates Court Act 1976 and the Matrimonial Homes Act 1985. The three Acts collectively sought to protect women in heterosexual relationships from a male violent partner. There was, however, another agenda at work enshrined in all three pieces of legislation – to provide an alterative to council accommodation by facilitating a process whereby the women could remain safely in the home following the successful application of an injunction or exclusion order to oust a violent partner and/or to prevent him for coming within a certain radius of the family home. But, as one of the Leeds respondents noted, convention dictates that women frequently flee the property in which the violence took place:

"The status quo in society tends to be when domestic violence is the key cause of homelessness, women tend to flee".

Local Services Manager, male, voluntary sector housing support organisation.

Not surprisingly for many victims of abuse, the Act provided neither the physical nor emotional security needed by victims of domestic violence to make a clean break from the perpetrator. Writing in 1997, Gillian Pascall pointed to failure of injunctions to provide protection against further physical assault and failing to secure the victim's property rights. The introduction of the Family Law Act 1996 and the Protection from Harassment Act 1996 provided a more robust framework for victims of domestic violence. Most importantly, the emergence of the new legislation represented a departure from the conventional police view that domestic violence be regarded no longer as a civil matter but as a criminal one. Here the dichotomy between public and private is resurfaces – domestic violence had changed from being confined to the private nature of home to the

public sphere of the criminal justice system. There is some limited evidence that injunctions do act a deterrent to some violent men (Women's Aid, 2003). However, overall they appear to have been ineffectual as a disincentive for violent men and in some instances may even aggravate the situation further (Morley and Mullender, 1994). Moreover, prosecution of the abuser may not always be in the women's best interest. Indeed, in many instances, Women's Aid asserts that pursuing redress through the courts may be dangerously counterproductive for many women:

'In fact, under the present system, there may be few or no individual benefits in being a witness for many abused women in terms of increased protection or safety. On the contrary, there is greater chance of increased danger of reprisals from a vengeful partner or ex-partner".

(Women's Aid, 2003, page 6).

One of the voluntary sector managers interviewed for the study described how perpetrators of domestic violence continue their tyranny from behind bars, demonstrating the deficiencies of criminal measures following the conviction:

"The system can mess up and women can be terrified of their former violent partners who can haunt them even from jail – we see that a lot.".

Local Services Manager, male, voluntary sector housing support organisation.

There is also a body of evidence that magistrates have, on occasions, trivialised the effect of domestic violence on a woman. Gilchrist and Blisset (2002) argue that frequently too lenient sentences are passed.Therefore not only might the women be returning to a potentially dangerous situation, the man is not encouraged to modify his behaviour increasing the likelihood of a repeat offence. There is some evidence that the institution of marriage appears to afford women greater support of the Crown Prosecution Service as women who

cohabit with but are not married to a male partner are much more likely to be advised to reduce the charges made against their violent partners (Gilchrist andBlisset, 2002). This informal policy of encouraging female co-habitees to reduce the charges may be linked to the probability of securing a successful prosecution. A reduction in charges results in the case being heard more quickly. By contrast, a long interval between reporting the offence and the case being heard in court frequently results in the plaintiff reneging on the charges (Cretney and Davis, 1997).

More optimistically, the research undertaken for the thesis has shown how increased legislative measures to combat domestic violence has led to the emergence of specialist solicitors. As one of the Leeds' respondents noted, this resulted in a more expedient, effective and professional service for victims:

"There is one solicitor we deal with who seems to cover around half the cases in east Leeds…she provides us with training on information such as court orders and what to expect in court – pretty handy stuff."

Local Services Manager, male, voluntary sector housing support organisation.

6.7 Supporting Victims of Domestic Violence: The Role of Housing Policy in England

Research evidence overwhelmingly points to female victims of domestic violence as most frequently leaving the family home, despite often having explicit legal rights of occupation (Women's Aid, 2003b). It has been suggested by the Teeside Homeless Action Group (2002) that as many as 40 per cent of women cite domestic violence as the principal cause of their homelessness. THAG, a group which campaigns on behalf of all homeless group in the North East of England, believes that victims of domestic violence are much more susceptible to housing exclusion if they already live in poor households or are unable to stay with friends or relatives. The downward spiral can be hastened if the woman has mental health problems and/or or is resorting to alcohol/drugs

as a coping strategy to deal with the violence (Teeside Homeless Action Group, 2002).

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In many cases, family or friends networks are unwilling or unable to provide accommodation. Indeed, in some instances, the woman's location may have to remain confidential from family or friends to maintain her safety. Other housing options, such as private sector or homeownership, may not be available or affordable at the point of housing crisis. One source suggests that women become increasingly more isolated from family and friends during the period the abuse is occurs, further accentuating the isolation from friends and family. This resulting social isolation makes it even more difficult to leave a violent partner (Sever, 2004).

Social housing managers in England play a key role in assisting victims of domestic violence and are substantially more involved in supporting victims, relative to Ireland and France. In scenarios where a woman has fled a property, frequently accompanied by children, the man may remain in sole residence of a family type dwelling. Local housing authorities as direct housing providers and in partnership with Registered Social Landlords are therefore faced with a dilemma as regards how to deal with the under occupation of a property which was originally intended as a family home. Clearly, local authorities hold the legal duty to provide short term shelter for victims of domestic violence and their dependent children, with the view of securing more permanent housing. Local authorities may suggest that a woman applies for an injunction to oust a violent partner, particularly in cases where there is joint legal interest in the home. But authorities cannot insist on this. Case law has pointed to the inappropriate use of injunctions by local authorities to claim that the duty has been discharged towards victims of domestic violence (see Bond v Leicester CC (2002) 1 FCR 56 6, (2001) EWCA Civ 1544). Furthermore, even if a legal right to occupy a property does exist and the perpetrator is removed, a woman may still feel it is unsafe back the property or feel traumatised by the prospect of returning, even with support. One of the Leeds voluntary sector managers gave a graphic account of what greeted one woman when she returned to her former home:

"Women often leave the house where they experienced domestic violence because it is now the place which feels bad. A worker went out to the house the other day, the violent partner was in prison – he use to put her things in the loft as part of the abuse. She said to her new partner 'oh, I wonder if there is anything up there' so she sent her new partner to have a look in the loft first. In there,, there was a grave with a noose hanging over it –the violent partner has basically built a grave in the loft. Now she doesn't want to go upstairs".

Local Services Manager, male, voluntary sector housing support organisation.

Yet existing legislation does not fully take into account a woman's understandable reluctance to return to the former family home, despite the fact that an argument could be made that it was not reasonable to continue to occupy the property thereby qualifying the woman to assistance under homelessness legislation. Authorities may also suggest that women use the sanctuary scheme approach whereby one room is a property is rendered very safe, thereby in theory at least, allowing a woman to remain in the home. The sanctuary scheme approach also ensures social housing landlords may manage their stock more effectively given that frequently the woman and children tend to flee leaving a single man solely in residence. But overall, the response to these schemes has been lukewarm at best and are perceived by organisations who work with victims of domestic abuse as only one possible option, alongside a range of more co-ordinated approaches such as legal advice, counselling and emergency accommodation if required (Women's Aid, 2007). It is highly disconcerting to read that there is considerable pressure on local authorities to adopt these questionable measures, reflected by the introduction of a Best Value Performance Indicator (BVPI 225) in 2005 to monitor their implementation nationally (Local Government Association, 2007).

The value of specialist refuge provision for women who have suffered domestic violence is widely recognised by those working in the field. An influential review commissioned by the Home Office in 2000 into hostel provision for domestic

violence survivors concluded that refuges are the only organisations which provide the necessary practical and emotional support women need to become resettled again in the community (Mullender and Hague, 2000). Women's Aid is widely recognised as the organisation with the greatest level of expertise to support victims of domestic violence in England. In 2009, some 400 refuges are either directly managed or affiliated to Women's Aid (Women's Aid, 2009). But places at Women's Aid refuges are not always available leading to a post code lottery scenario when it comes to the provision of high quality support for victims of domestic abuse. As one of the homelessness managers interviewed for this thesis indicated, the quality of support given to a victim may vary significantly depending on the nature of the temporary accommodation secured on her behalf:

"Women will get a different experience and a different service depending on bed space that day. For example, if they go to Women's Aid, they will get a lot more emotional support and the children will get a lot more help. But if they end up in a bed and breakfast place, they might just get a visit from a housing worker and that's basically it".

Social Care Manager, female, Sure Start, social services.

The same respondent emphasises the skills of Women's Aid staff:

"I think the hostel staff are the real strength because they are there every day doing the real emotional stuff....They're not classed as social workers but they are really, really good people doing a really good job. That is a great strength of the system."

Social Care Manager, female, Sure Start, social services.

The benefits of practical support were highlighted succinctly by one homelessness manager interviewed for the research undertaken for this thesis:

"Very often, people have to leave their houses very suddenly following a crisis, without warning. So very often you find that families leave most of their stuff behind….like furniture, the kids' clothes. None of them wanted to go back into the property".

Development Worker, female, social services department.

Perhaps surprisingly given the level of transparency in other aspects of the public sector, statistics on the level of voluntary sector refuge provision in England for victims of domestic violence remain opaque. A national survey of refuge places in 1998 showed that there were 409 domestic violence refuge properties in England with approximately 7,269 bed-spaces (House of Commons, 2009b). Despite the introduction of domestic violence as a new priority need category in 2002, the implementation of the Hostels Capital Improvement Programme 2005 – 2007 and the introduction of the Supporting People regime in 2002, research evidence from the Equality and Human Rights Commission published in 2009 points to a net decrease in overall refuge provision (Coy *et al*, 2009). Yet the research completed for this thesis shows the pressing need for such accommodation. One of the interviewees spoke of the way in which supply far outstripped supply:

"We have around another fifty families on our waiting list we could assist, if our contract covered them – which it doesn't. If we were contracted to work with that extra fifty, I could get another fifty families without too much difficulty. On the converse side, what you can find is that services aren't always necessary for you to do things. We prioritise our cases based on need so based on homelessness, domestic violence, mental health problem. So if you came to us and just said that you needed a new home but didn't mention you were a victim of domestic violence, it would take quite a long time for us to work with you…those people aren't going to wait around ".

Local Services Manager, male, voluntary sector housing support organisation.

"We had to close one of the hostels down last October because it was so bad. The service hadn't really moved on since it was built (in the 1980s)*. We were doing homeless families a disservice by offering it to them at all".*

6.8 Domestic Violence in the Irish Context

Concepts of domestic violence in Ireland focus very much on the impact of the abuse the individual victim rather than the patriarchal forces which are highlighted by England's liberal and radical feminists. As with homelessness policies, perceptions of domestic violence in Ireland tend to defer to international conceptualisations of the problem rather than drawing from the English (or other Western European) context. Policy recommendations are also influenced by international definitions of domestic violence, notably the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Violence 1993, Article 1 which views domestic violence as *"gender based violence that is violence which is directed against a woman because she is a woman or that affects women disproportionately. It includes acts that inflict physical, mental or sexual harm or suffering, threats of such acts, coercion or other deprivation of liberty."*

(United Nations, 1993, Article 1, page 1).

One influential definition of domestic violence which has impacted on the Irish domestic violence research agenda was applied by the Irish government's task force in 1997 in its review of the future direction of domestic violence policy making at the national level:

"Domestic violence is the use of physical or emotional force or threat of physical force, including sexual violence, in close adult relationships. This includes violence perpetrated by spouse, partner, son, daughter or any other person who is a close blood relation to the victim."

(National Task Force Task Force on Domestic Violence, 1997, page 27).

Kearns *et al* (2008) suggest that this definition has been seminal in influencing policy changes on the issue in Ireland. Other definitions focus exclusively on violence from partners. Watson and Parson's research in 2005 for Ireland's National Crime Council defined domestic violence as "*a pattern of physical, emotional or sexual behaviour between partners in an intimate relationship that causes, or risks causing, significant negative consequences for the person affected."*

6.9 Data on Domestic Violence in Ireland

Overall, domestic violence and relationship breakdown have been cited by the Irish government as the principal reasons for homelessness amongst lone parents in Ireland the Republic of Ireland, the vast majority of whom are headed by a woman (Department of the Environment for Dublin, 1999). An inextricable link between domestic violence and homelessness has also been noted by a number of commentators where the research has shown that majority of homeless women with children interviewed in hostels reported that they left home to escape violence or sexual abuse (National Women's Council, 2000; Kelleher, 1992).

Research into the nature of domestic violence in the Republic of Ireland is a relatively recent phenomenon and has mainly been from the mid 1990s onwards. Kelleher *et al* completed the country's first comprehensive evaluation of the extent domestic violence in Ireland the Republic of Ireland in 1995, significantly later than the English equivalent in 1980s. McGee *et al's* research in 2002 later pointed to the complexities of coercive control of men over women, a control which, the authors argue, includes isolating the women from friends, family, the destruction of property, removing access to money and in many cases, sexual assault and rape. As in England, evidence has emerged from literature focusing on the Republic of Ireland which strongly suggests that poverty amongst women significantly affects women's capacity (or perceived capacity) about leaving a violent relationship. The importance of the male breadwinner approach is as a disabling force for women who want to leave an abusive relationship was highlighted by the National Women's Council (2000):

"Although you get relief from the mental or physical torture, you may be moving to more abuse; abuse from the state including poverty, neglect and isolation."

(National Women's Council, 2000, page 15).

Other evidence in the Irish context also shows that women are invariably less financially well off than men when they leave a violent relationship. Abusive men may continue to use economic exploitation such as not fairly sharing family assets or refusing to pay maintenance, as a strategy to control women post-separation (National Women's Council, 2000).

It is generally accepted that domestic violence incidences in the Republic of Ireland are underreported because of the social taboo which still persists (Kelleher *et al,* 1999). Interestingly, current estimates run to one in five women in Ireland as having been victims (Saoirse Women's Refuge, 2007), compared to 1 in 4 in England Women's Aid (2003). Data from Women's Aid in Ireland indicated that an average of 6,000 calls per year relating to domestic violence incidents in the Greater Dublin area alone were received from women with no money or transport and have nowhere else to go (Women's Aid, 2000). Significantly, the numbers of women being turned away due to the lack of refuge space equalled or exceeded the places provided. Women's Aid in Ireland further asserted that these figures were the tip of the iceberg as evidence emerged that faced with the realities of poor alternative housing, poor employment opportunities and poverty, many women opted to stay with violent partners (Women's Aid, ibid). Furthermore, evidence from the Irish case study review shows how it is not unusual for women to experience a complexity of emotions when victimised. In common with other countries, guilt, embarrassment, disempowerment alongside financial dependence are reportedly common feelings amongst Irish women (National Women's Council, 2000). The vast majority (88 per cent) of women interviewed by the National Women's Council in 2000 said that the principal reason why they did not leave their violent partners was that they had nowhere else to go. More specifically,

the lack of affordable accommodation has been identified as a significant factor in preventing women from leaving violent relationships (Kelleher *et al*, 1999).

But what sets Ireland's apart from its French conservative corporate counterpart is the Irish Catholic Church's lack of condemnation of domestic violence until as late as 2000. Until this time, the advice to parish priests from the Vatican had been that victims of domestic abuse must not seek to end the marriage. A document published by the Irish Commission for Justice and Peace and the Pastoral Commission of the Irish Bishops in 2000 publicly effectively reversed the Church's position on domestic violence and advocated that victims of domestic violence leave the perpetrator (Birchard, 2000). Not surprisingly, following the Irish Catholic Church's denouncement of domestic violence 2000, recorded levels of incidences of domestic violence began to increase.

6.10 Legislation to Combat Domestic Violence in Ireland

The Family Law Act 1976 was the first piece of Irish legislation to enable women to apply for injunctions against a violent partner. But crucially, this was a civil remedy only. Victims were required to take their case to the *Garda Síochána* (Irish Police Force) for assessment, frequently without legal representation although solicitors were at liberty to see copies of documentation. The Act was amended twice before being replaced by both the Criminal Law Act (Sexual Offences) 1995 and the Domestic Violence Act 1996 which both radically overhauled the system and amalgamated previous legislative measures. The Act now contains a range of protection measures for woman and children such as further measures for injunctions and more powers for the Gardai. Irish feminist such as O'Herlihy welcomed the synergy of previous enactments as well and inclusion of new protective measures for women resulting, in her view, in *"a socially conscious and pragmatic piece of legislation responsive to the changing nature of adult relationships and the exigencies of the growing social dynamic that is domestic violence* (which) *as a whole …merits positive applause in relation to the social aim of increasing the*

menu of protective orders available to those often silent victims of domestic violence"

(O'Herlihy, 2002, page 1).

But nearly a decade after O'Herlihy's positive endorsement of the revised legislation, the policy framework to support these initiatives remain in their infancy. Subsequent amendments did result in the Domestic Violence Amendment Act 2002 which substantially boosted the role of health professionals by recommending that health workers were further involved in domestic violence referrals and that medical social workers provided further support. In addition, the Act recommended that refuge occupants be seen by a public health nurse once a month. Newly formed regional committees as part of the Ireland social partnership regime play a pivotal role in the allocation of resources to support this work (Mc Gee *et al*, 2002). But there is negligible independent evidence to show how effective the regional committees have been in accurately meeting the needs of women who are survivors of domestic violence. The research undertaken for this thesis shows that domestic violence is linked homelessness but that substance abuse is most likely to be seen as the cause of housing exclusion in women when compared with England and France.

"Domestic violence is one (of the principal reasons for homelessness*) but I would say that addiction problems are coming more to the fore, alcohol or drugs. When someone is dependent on alcohol or drug, not only can they not find accommodation but often they can't keep it".*

Senior Homelessness Manager, female, local authority.

Despite meticulous research for this thesis, there is no research in the public domain in Ireland which focuses on the way in which substance abuse is used as a coping strategy for victims of domestic abuse.

6.11 Supporting Victims of Domestic Violence – The Role of Housing Policy in Ireland

Ireland's historical relationship between housing, homelessness and health is epitomized by the country's welfare response to domestic violence. Research published by a wide range of health professionals regarding domestic violence has been influential in shaping the policy agenda. To initiate step change, health authorities in Ireland need to take more of a lead in developing strategic services for victims of domestic violence. This will involve a radical change in service priorities to encompass more support more social and personal support for survivors rather then relying heavily on medical services. The research for this thesis shows that the evidence from health professionals is afforded a disproportionate amount of credibility in Ireland in respect of domestic violence. A good example is the evidence base gathered for the influential Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland summarized in the Sexual Abuse and Violence in Ireland (SAVI) report published in 2002 which stated that one in four women have experienced some form of sexual abuse in their lifetime and one in five had experienced sexual assault as adults (McGee *et al*, 2002). Interestingly, the SAVI report in turn prompted a series of further research for more heath professionals into the impact of domestic violence with a clear focus on mental and physical health. A pathological approach prevails in homelessness discourse in Ireland which focuses on the legitimacy of the public health model, the medico-legal approach and the ecological approach in combating the problem. Support services are largely provided by the Health Services Executive (HSE) (Mc Gee *et al*, 2002). The importance of the health agenda in Cork was also clear from the research undertaken for this thesis:

"Domestic violence is one (of the principal reasons for homelessness*) but I would say that addiction problems are coming more to the fore, alcohol or drugs. When someone is dependent on alcohol or drug, not only cannot they not find accommodation but often they can't keep it. We're here to try and help with that problem".*

Refuge Manager, male, voluntary sector.

Persuasive evidence exists in Ireland that the majority of women leave the home following domestic violence stay with friends and family rather than seeking out statutory or voluntary sector services (Watson and Parson, 2005). For those women for whom staying with family is not an option, limited frontline refuge services for victims of domestic violence are provide almost exclusively by the voluntary sector with little input from local housing authorities. Yet statistics show that there are only 18 specialist refuges for victims of domestic violence in Ireland, providing a mere 111 bed spaces. The shortage of refuge type accommodation for women experiencing domestic violence in the Republic of Ireland represents a grave cause for concern (Wallace, 2001).

More optimistically, progress in the right direction was warmly welcomed by one hostel manager in Cork who said:

"Women know that there are refuges now, it's not what it was like in the 1970s. Then you didn't mention it (domestic violence) *to your neighbours…it was taboo. It's still difficult for women to talk it about but we're getting there. There are far more resources now that at that first stage of getting out of the house and getting emergency accommodation".*

Refuge Manager, female, voluntary sector.

Another respondent pointed to the way in which the taboo of domestic violence was diminishing in Ireland:

"Ireland's a changing country. It use to be that woman would stay with a violent husband whatever happened, no matter how bad it was. But not any more."

Senior Homelessness Manager, female, Cork City Council.

The research undertaken for the thesis highlights the shortage of accommodation in Cork for victims of domestic violence:

House Supervisor (Hostel), male, voluntary sector.

"Threshold and St Vincent de Paul both have services in Cork. But they're really overstretched as it is and they deal with men and women. Cuanlee (refuge in Cork) *is a lifesaver here for women But it struggles…there's not always spaces available".*

House Supervisor, Hostel, male, voluntary sector.

One of the Cork homelessness managers spoke on the benefits of one particular support service for survivors which has recently been developed in Cork:

"We need more services similar to this service…there are still more women who need this kind of service. More support for women is needed, they still come to our emergency shelter and are really quite vulnerable. For men as well but the women are increasing. More places would give them a stable environment as well. Women who have come to us (from the emergency shelter) *do well, they come from the chaos of the shelter and we can give them one to one support".*

Hostel manager, female, voluntary sector.

The value of support in empowering women to a leave violent male partner was identified by another respondent as a problem which becomes further compounded when there are children involved.

"Sometimes people stay in the refuge for a few months and then go back. That happens a lot. They have the same people coming back time and time again. It's very difficult to just leave and that's it. How often can you make a clean break, especially if there are children involved?"

Outreach Worker, female, local authority.

On a more optimistic level, Ireland has sought to move towards a strategic approach in dealing with domestic violence. But progress in this regard seems to be at a funereal pace when compared to England. There is no discernible national or regional approach to combating domestic violence. The much awaited (and subsequently much criticized) National Women's Strategy 2007 – 2016 was launched on 18th April 2007 by the Taoiseach, Bertie Ahern. Objective 12 of the strategy is to: *"Combat violence against women through improved services for victims together with an effective and prosecution"* as part of a general health and well being theme. (Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform 2007, page 15). Critically, there is only one cursory mention of women's housing (related to teenage parents) in this document. The enduring of the archetypal Irish mother loomed large at the launch of strategy with the Taoiseach's staunch description of women as being *"the lynchpin in the Irish family and Irish society……the fact that so many now also work outside the home has made a significant contribution to the growth we know as the Celtic Tiger".*

(Taoiseach Bertie Ahern, 2007, page 1).

The coordinating body for refuges for women and children in the Republic, the National Network of Women's Refuges and Support Services, maintains data on the level of demand for refuge accommodation. But the Network's responsibilities do not encompass an overt strategic function and its ability to influence policy is limited. However, the research for this thesis has produced evidence that levels of awareness are increasing:

“I think that women do understand more now that they do have rights. For example, women know now that they can walk out with their children, you don’t have to put up with violence any more. There is support out there for you...people are more aware of the hostels that are out there if you’re homeless with children”.

Outreach Worker, female, local authority.

6.12 Domestic Violence in the French Context

Research on domestic violence has emerged slowly in France, despite the country's constitutional commitment to social citizenship. In recent years, the French government has deferred to the international definition of domestic violence advocated by Amnesty International which defines domestic violence as:

(a) Physical, sexual and psychological violence occurring in the family, including battering, sexual abuse of female children in the household, dowry-related violence, marital rape, female genital mutilation and other traditional practices harmful to women, non-spousal violence and violence related to exploitation;

(b) Physical, sexual and psychological violence occurring within the general community, including rape, sexual abuse, sexual harassment and intimidation at work, in educational institutions and elsewhere, trafficking in women and forced prostitution;

(c) Physical, sexual and psychological violence perpetrated or condoned by the State, wherever it occurs".

(Amnesty International, 2009, page 12).

6.13 Data on Domestic Violence in France

Statistics on domestic violence remain far from robust given that the mechanisms for collecting data on the subject are difficult to identify. One source suggests that as many as 7 per cent of women in France are victims of domestic violence each year and women from minority ethnic groups were over represented in this total (Michalich, 2000). The writing of academics such as Jaspard (1998) seeks to ensure that societal factors relevant to domestic are captured by statistical analysis:

"The patchiness and unreliability of statistical data hinder official measures to prevent violence. As long as we know nothing about the real extent of such a sensitive and elusive social phenomenon, any attempt to quantify it will be controversial. On the other hand, once we have reliable assessments to hand, the debate switches from a controversy over figures to analysis of the processes and how the phenomenon can be prevented'.

(Jaspard, 1998, page 5).

Statistics collated by French the National Homeless Help Line, known nationally as "calling 115" show that domestic violence is the most immediate cause of homelessness for women in France (Mina Coull and Tatinville, ibid). Domestic violence is also categorsied alongside relationship breakdown (without and without violence) which makes interrogation of statistics problematic.

6.14 Legislation to Combat Domestic Violence in France

Legislation designed to tackle domestic violence was only introduced in 1994 under France's criminal code system. Policies on domestic violence are the responsibility of the *Ministère Délégué à la Cohésion Sociale et à la Parité* (the Department for Social Cohesion and Parity or the Justice Ministry). But the offence has to be classified as a repeated assault thereby generally excluding one off acts of violence. Organisations such as Amnesty International have called for a more responsive system and less complicated reporting and court procedures in case of domestic abuse in the French system Amnesty International, 2009).

6.15 Support To Victims of Domestic Violence – The Role of Housing Policy in France

Domestic violence has also been identified as one of the main causes of homelessness amongst women in France. For example, Marpsat has noted that whilst men who participated in her study tended to give reasons for their homelessness such as loss of a job or being discharged from institutions such

as prison or hospital, women were much more likely to cite domestic violence or relationship breakdown as their primary reason for homelessness (Marpsat, 2000). The research undertaken for this thesis also confirms the extent to which women are more likely to be victims of domestic violence than men. One of the Lyon NGO respondents spoke of the need to tackle domestic violence as well as increased housing supply:

"I'll me semble que nous rencontrons plus de femmes dans cette situation que d'hommes. Mais on besoin plus de logement".

"In my opinion, I think we meet more women in this situation than men. But we also need more housing".

Director, Male, NGO women only hostel, Lyon.

Interestingly, one voluntary sector hostel Lyon female respondent suggested that domestic violence was the only factor which distinguished between men and women's homelessness calling into question the De Beauvoir's notion of women at "other":

"Mis à part la question des violences conjugales, je ne vois pas de motif de réfléchir de façon distincte à la situation des femmes".

"Putting aside the question of domestic violence, I cannot see any way of distinguishing between men and women".

Hostel Manager, female, voluntary sector refuge.

The FEANTSA (2000) report made some insightful observations as regards the seriousness of the issue in France. Drawing on research by the *Centre d'Hérbergement et de Réinsertion Sociale*, the FEANTSA report points to the urgency of acquiring emergency, temporary accommodation, particularly in rural

areas of the country. The following extract from the report summarises some of the key problems experienced by women in France fleeing violence:

"Les femmes victimes de violence ne pouvant quitter leur foyer sans autre solution, surtout si elles ont des enfants, il faut leur trouver une place d'hébergement rapidement. Ces femmes passent donc de leur maison aux centres, sans passer par la "rue". Mais les crises de violence étant imprévisibles, il faut souvent disposer d'une solution le soir même. Le problème est plus difficile dans les zones rurales, où la personne à secourir peut se retrouver assez loin des structures d'accueil, généralement situées dans la ville-préfecture. La police ou la gendarmerie sont souvent le premier maillon de la chaîne de secours".

"Women who are victims of domestic violence cannot leave their home without there being another solution available, especially if they have children; it is necessary to find alterative accommodation quickly. These women therefore go to the centres (hostels/refuges) and therefore do not end up on the street. But the nature of the violence is such that they have to find a solution that same night. The problem is particularly difficult in rural areas where the person who is fleeing may be easily found in the hostel accommodation in the village or town. The police or the gendarmerie are often the first port of call in the chain for help".

(FEANTSA, 2000), page 7, translated by the author from the original French text).

The voluntary sector leads in the provision of emergency, frontline services including accommodation for victims of domestic violence in France. The country's regional governance structures are the mechanisms for funding allocation but emergency hostels for single men take priority for this scare financial resource (Marpsat, 2007). Semi supported accommodation is very much in demand and frequently a preferred choice for women fleeing violence.

Yet this accommodation is also in inadequate supply (Mina Coull and Tatinville, ibid; Marpsat and Firdion, 1998). Further, there is evidence that emergency hostels hostels are generally perceived a being unsafe places for women especially those women who are accompanied by children (Mina Coull and Tatinville, ibid).

Significantly, it is the presence of dependent children which determines the extent to which women may access accommodation and other essential services in France. Single women who do not have dependent children have extremely limited emergency housing options and in most cases, are forced to occupy emergency night shelters. By contrast, women who have dependents may stay in accommodation provided by the *Centres d'Hébergement et de Réadaptation Sociale* (CHRS) in the form of hostels for mothers with children normally under the age of three or in mother and child homes (Rollet *et al,* 1995). One of the Lyon respondents interviewed for the study confirmed the shortage of accommodation to support victims of domestic violence:

"On peut pointer les violences conjugales et les séparations qui obligent beaucoup de femmes à quitter le domicile du couple sans avoir pu préparer une solution de rechange. Il existe des associations de soutien à ces femmes, mais pas partout."

“It is often domestic violence and separations which make many women to leave the couple’s home without being able to sort out an alternative. Associations exist which provide support for women but these aren’t everywhere.”

Director, male, NGO women only hostel, Lyon.

The majority of accommodation in France for victims of domestic violence is also single sex. Therefore women who have begun a relationship are prevented from bringing their new male partner to the majority of these housing projects.

Such polices may discourage women for occupying this accommodation in the first instance or from continuing to reside there (Rollet *et al* ibid).

On a more optimistic level, a national strategy designed to combat domestic violence was launched in 2005 in the form of the *Plan Global de Lutte Contre les Violences Faites Aux Femmes (2005-2007): 10 Mesures Pour l'Autonomie des Femmes*, Comprehensive Plan for Tackling Violence Against Women (2005-2007) : 10 Steps Towards Women's Autonomy. This proactive approach has been welcomed by French professionals working in the field although disappointingly, one source suggests that ittle progress has been made regards the implementation of the plan (Amnesty international, 2009). A senior officer from the municipality of Lyon highlighted the interrelationships between domestic violence, housing shortage and the need for appropriate early intervention:

"Il est considéré en général que toutes les questions touchant au logement sont liées entre elles, et que des mesures trop ponctuelles sont soit sans effet soit même nuisibles, exemple de la loi de Robien, par exemple.".

"It is generally considered that all these questions regarding housing are all linked and early measures are either useless or they even make the situation worse, for example, the Robien Law (legislation passed in 2003 designed to stimulate investment in private sector housing) *".*

Senior Officer, female, local authority.

6.16 Relationship Breakdown and Homelessness in England

Homelessness as a result of relationship breakdown with a co-habiting partner or matrimonial breakdown where there has been no violence represents a further problem for single women and women with children. In such cases, the homeless route is not an option as the provisions of homelessness legislation only apply in instances where it is not reasonable to continue to occupy the property as prescribed by homelessness legislation because of violence (or threats) from someone inside or outside the home. Where a joint tenancy exists and there are dependent children, both parties have the right to remain in occupation and a court order is required to exclude one party. Even in cases of domestic violence, an injunction is required to stop the perpetrator from returning.

Generally, social housing landlords will initially aim to ensure that the party with whom the children normally reside will stay in the home to make best use of existing stock. Family type accommodation remains in short supply and social housing providers seek to circumvent a scenario whereby a single man (frequently the part who remains in residence) stays in occupation of a the family home. This may be achieved through the voluntary assignment of the tenancy with the other party's consent under the local authority or housing association's relationship breakdown policy. Other measures, notably legal mechanisms such as the Family Law Act 1996 (applicable to married couples and cohabitees) and the Matrimonial Causes Act 1973 (currently married couples only). Orders may also be made under the Children Act 1989 in the interests of any dependent children.

Relationship breakdown is significant as it prompts an increased demand in housing supply to meet the needs of the newly formed household. Holmans' research (2000) shows that just under a third of former homeowners were forced out of owner occupation altogether following relationship breakdown. Female lone parents fared the worst and were either forced into the social sector, poor quality properties in the private rented sector or more inferior owner occupied dwellings.

Statistics from the Communities and Local Government Department in 2009 demonstrate how divorced applicants account for between six and seven per cent of all homeless acceptances between 1997 – 2008 (CLG, 2009c).

The Civil Partnership Act 2006 has enabled gay and lesbian couples to enjoy the same rights, including property inheritance rights, as married couples in England.

6.17 Relationship Breakdown and Homelessness in Ireland

Given the enduring dominance of Catholicism and the fact that divorce was not made legal until 1995, it is not surprising that Ireland has the lowest divorce rate in the European Union at seven divorces for every thousand people in the population, well below the European average of twenty one (Eurostat, 2006; ONS, 2001). Significantly, couples contemplating divorce are required to live separately for five years before the divorce is granted. Given the prevalence of home ownership in Ireland, the work of the Irish courts focuses manly on the transfer or division of property in the event of relationship breakdown. Crucially, the only properties which are eligible for court intervention are those defined as being family homes namely dwellings *"in which a married couple ordinarily reside"* under the provisions of the Family Home Protection Act 1976 section 2 (Irish Statute Book, 2009).

The Family Home Protection Act 1976 epitomises the state's fundamental constitutional commitment to the conventional model of the family in Ireland. In making financial settlements, the unpaid labour provided by women is not considered. Yeates (2000) challenges this gendered nature of matrimonial legislation in Ireland and characterises the Irish government's stance on relationship breakdown and subsequent resource allocation as *"divisive, ineffective and inequitable."*

(Yeates, 2000, page 1).

Attempts to introduce legislation for gay and lesbian marriages has been met with vociferous opposition in Ireland. In a test case in 2006, the presiding judge Elizabeth Dunn cited potential harm to children who were brought up by same sex couples and used the Irish constitution's model of the family to reiterate the view:

"Marriage was understood under the 1937 Constitution to be confined to persons of the opposite sex. Having regard to the clear understanding of the meaning of marriage as set out in the numerous authorities opened to the Court

from this jurisdiction and elsewhere, I do not see how marriage can be redefined by the Court to encompass same sex marriage."

(Dunn in Schultz, 2006, page 1)

However, the grip of the constitution is clearly lessening as a new Civil Partnership Act is scheduled for implementation in December 2009.This act will give both gay and straight couples the same rights as married couples.

6.18 Relationship Breakdown and Homelessness in France

France may have the same level of marriages per one thousand people in the population as England and Ireland (5.1 per cent) but has nearly four times more divorces than Ireland (only 0.7 per cent). In England, 2.6 per cent in every thousand of the population are divorced (Office for National Statistics, 2001). In addition to marriage, couples who wish to live together in an intimate relationship may officially live together known as *en concubinage* (a certificate is required from the local municipality) which affords some rights but not automatic rights to inherit property. Another option is *pacte civile de solidarité* which gives couples a number (but not all) of equivalent rights to those of married couples.

Relationship breakdown was also a common trigger to homelessness in both men and women all three countries but to varying degrees. All the Leeds respondents mentioned relationship breakdown, followed by Cork (87 per cent) and but just 67 per cent in Lyon. In the follow up interviews, one of the homelessness managers explicitly pointed to women's financial vulnerability following relationship breakdown:

«C'est plus souvent les femmes qui se trouvent sans logement. C'est plus souvent le mari qui travaille et après une rupture familiale elles se retrouvent sans logement et dans les foyers. Les hommes trouvent du logement plus facilement parce qu'ils travaillent et donc ils ont de l'argent pour payer un logement".

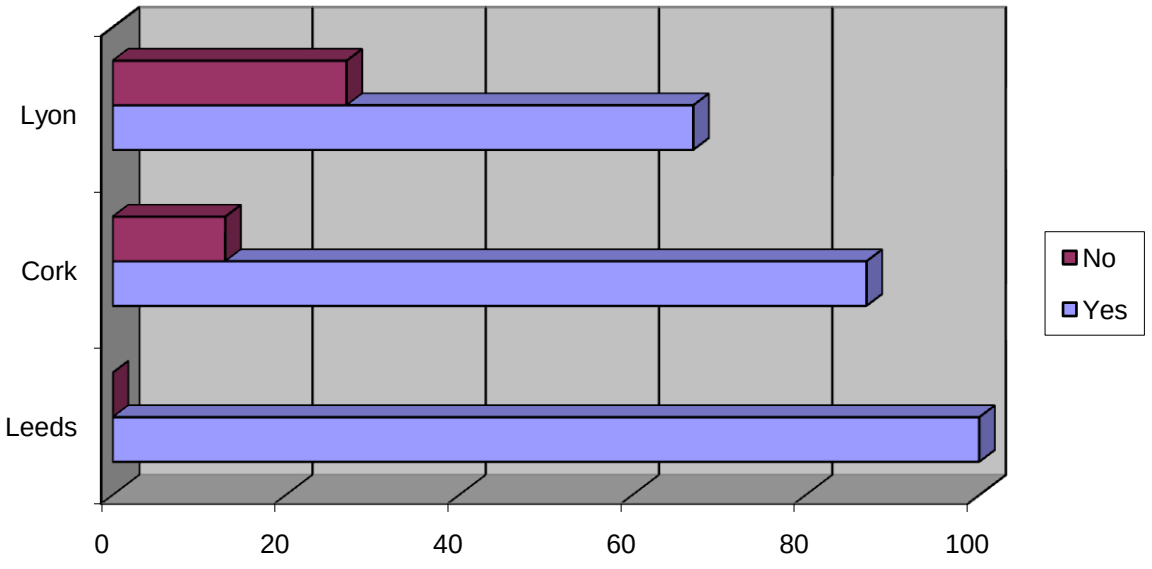
"It is more often women who find themselves without a place to live. After family break up, it is more often them who lose their homes and end up in shelters. Men find a home more easily because they work and have money to pay for it".

Director (Male), NGO hostel for women with children.

Further research is needed to establish the way in which the Lyon's homelessness system interpret and respond to relationship breakdown. In the

French case, "relationship breakdown" also refers to family disharmony as well as deterioration of a relationship between two people living together as partners. This broader interpretation of the term may have influenced responses. Nonetheless, it is worth exploring further what housing options are open to the parties involved following a relationship breakdown across all the main housing types in France. Attention would need be placed on the flexibility of the largely regulated private rented sector primarily and the social housing sector relative to the other two countries. Which party tends to remain in occupation of the property – the man or the woman and how are these rights enforced by statute in France? What difference, if any, does the presence of children makes as regards housing rights to remain following a relationship breakdown across all tenure types?

Chart 15: Perception of Relationship Breakdown as a Trigger to Homelessness: Men and Women by Case Study City (% of Respondent)s.



In respect of just women, respondents were asked to comment on the extent to which relationship breakdown with no violence represented a trigger to homelessness. The majority of respondents in all three case study cities **did**

not consider relationship breakdown to be a key factor in causing homelessness amongst women. Further research would explore this finding further. In respect of Leeds, respondents may consider that existing measures designed to mitigate relationship breakdown where there is no violence were sufficient. The Leeds respondents interviewed for the thesis were all homelessness professionals, a number of whom had sound working knowledge of the English social housing system. Social housing landlords in England have extensive powers in providing accommodation to parties who experience housing problems as a result of relationship breakdown, relative to the other two countries. This knowledge and experience may have influenced responses in Leeds. In the case of Cork, it is possible that low recorded levels of relationship breakdown (given that divorce is less frequent n Ireland than in the other two countries) may mean that the issue is not on the radar of policy makers. But interestingly, a third of those interviewed in Lyon (33 per cent) did believe that relationship breakdown was a factor even though France shares Ireland's welfare typology of conservative corporate. On face value, this suggests that there are specific factors which decrease vulnerability to homelessness in specific sets of circumstances in Lyon when compared with Cork. One possibility maybe that the policies adopted by HMLs are insufficiently flexible to respond to a sudden change in circumstances, leaving the parties involved in a relationship breakdown to use the private rented sector or turn to home ownership. In the case of single parents, owner occupation may not be feasible at least in the short term unless private financial resources are available.

Table 25: Primary Triggers for Women by Case Study City (% of Respondents).						
	LEEDS		CORK		LYON	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
	per cent		per cent		per cent	
Domestic violence	60	40	20	80	40	60
Relationship breakdown with partner	27	63	7	93	33	67
Poverty	60	40	7	93	27	73
Dependency on state benefits	20	80	7	93	40	60
Household type of lone parent	80	20	60	40	40	60
N = 45						

6.19 Domestic Violence and Relationship Breakdown As Primary Triggers: A Comparative Summary

Chapter Six has demonstrated the importance of considering key debates surrounding domestic violence, relationship breakdown and women and homelessness. The chapter has shown that domestic violence is a key trigger to homelessness in England, Ireland and France, most frequently in Leeds (60 per cent) but least common in Cork (only 20 per cent). Domestic violence in all three case study cities was perceived to make women disproportionately vulnerable to homeless given that they were most likely to flee the home. In all three countries, the role of the housing sector was highlighted. This is particularly important in Cork and Lyon where local authorities have no role in direct hostel provision. In respect of relationship breakdown, Ireland seems to have the least responsive approach to rehousing parties who are in urgent housing need. By contrast, respondents in Leeds and Lyon were least likely to suggest that relationship breakdown represented a risk to homelessness for women. In the case of Leeds, this has been attributed to existing far reaching policies adopted by social housing landlords to support displaced parties following relationship breakdown and domestic violence. In Lyon, the overall

nature of the housing system and the availability of private rented housing has been identified as a contributory factor.

Chapter Seven which follows focuses on poverty as a primary trigger to homelessness amongst women. The chapter shows the interrelationships between women (notably lone parents), poverty and homelessness within the context of each case study country. Using primary and secondary data sources, Chapter Seven shows the importance of definitions of **paid** employment in defining women's housing opportunities at the point of housing crisis in each case study city. The chapter shows how homeless women in each case study country are over represented amongst groups wholly dependent on state benefits or concentrated in part-time, poorly paid jobs. This chapter shows how this over representation is accentuated in the case of lone parents.

CHAPTER SEVEN: POVERTY AS PRIMARY TRIGGER

7.1 Summary

The link between poverty and homeless in women is so well documented is seems facile to reiterate the point here in this thesis. But what is worth emphasising are the broad similarities and differences between countries in responding to women living in poverty and the prevalence of women wholly or partially dependent on welfare benefits amongst groups suffering from housing exclusion in each instrumental case study reviewed in this thesis regardless of the dominant approach to welfare in each country.

Chapter Seven focuses on poverty as a primary trigger to women's homelessness. It begins by highlighting the relevance of absolute and relative definitions of poverty to the thesis then continues by focusing on lone parents within the context of welfare protection measures. The importance of children in accessing welfare services is emphasised in Chapter Seven. The chapter shows how women and in particular single parent families are likely to suffer disproportionately to poverty and how this direct impacts on housing opportunities. The limitations of paid employment as a dominant feature of Esping-Andersen's typology are also reviewed in Chapter Seven.

7.2 Definitions of Poverty

Poverty in social science literature is generally defined in either absolute or in relative terms. An absolute definition of poverty is based upon whether or not an individual has the basic essentials to survive namely food, water, clothing and shelter. A relative definition, which is accepted as the more appropriate mechanism for measuring poverty, considers the ability of people to participate in society and to have access to resources and opportunities. Relative definitions of poverty acknowledge that people have physical, emotional, social and cultural needs and that these needs change over time. Relative measures of poverty also recognise that poverty involves not only the absence of adequate physical and income resources but also exclusion from participation in

society, lack of power and unequal distribution of resources (Daly, 1989). The feminisation of poverty (the extent to which women are over represented in groups defined as living in poverty using monetary earnings) remains a universally recognized phenomenon despite an overall increase of women's engagement in labour markets (Brady and Kall, 2008; Elmelech and Lu, 2004). The writing of Cashbourne (2000) suggests that the UK economy generally fails to recognise women as earning parties in their own right but as providing supplementary income to that of their male partners.

Analysis of the 45 quantitative surveys has shown that respondents in all three case study cities believed that women who were unemployed or in part-time work were over represented amongst those groups livings in hostels and refuges. But the policy solutions identified by homelessness professionals in the three case study cities varied substantially.

Whilst those interviewed in Leeds tended to point to holistic models of homelessness alleviation, those in Cork highlighted more fundamental systematic problems of housing supply and affordability. Interviewees in Lyon stressed the notion of income equality linked to the promotion of further employment opportunities to provide further housing options for women. N = 45

Respondents in all three case study cities believed that the presence of dependent children in single income households increased that household's vulnerability to homelessness.

Being a single income household where there were children was generally was seen as increasing vulnerability to homelessness for men and women most often in Leeds (67 per cent) but the risk was substantially reduced in Cork (33 per cent) and just 13 per cent in Lyon. N = 45

7.3 Single Parents and Single Incomes: The Relevance of Children in Welfare Policy

The research shows how the presence of children was perceived to increase the risk of homelessness. This finding has significant implications for debates surrounding the gendered nature of welfare regimes. A country's welfare approach in respect of lone parents is highly insightful in constructing feminist alternative to welfare typologies. One source goes as far as suggesting that policies on lone parents at the nation state level have become the defining litmus test of national welfare regimes (Hobson (1994) in Duncan and Edwards (2003). Single income households without children are in strong financial position relative to lone parents and are therefore likely to be able to exercise more buying power at the point of housing crisis and exercise more residential mobility than lone parents for whom networks, social and financial capital hold more importance. Single parent families, on the other hand, are very often time poor as the unpaid work of childcare needs to be prioritised giving substantially less time for paid employment. These households frequently depend on the state to provide childcare support to enable them to carry out paid employment. As Burchart's research published in 2008 demonstrates, single parents childcare responsibilities often mean that securing paid employment is neither practical nor financially viable and that this group is destined to a future of dominated by economic exclusion:

"Lone parents - with generally few resources and intensive responsibilities – were at especially high risk (of poverty)*. Between 42 and 56 per cent were time and income capability poor. To reiterate, the implication is that no matter how they organise their time, however hard they work paid or unpaid, they are condemned to either time or income poverty or both".*

(Burchart, 2008, page 84).

Lone parents are required to find part time work to fit in with children's schooling which limits the geographical distance between schools and the paid workplace

to make paid employment viable, a consideration which gathers further importance in the case of poorly paid jobs where time is precious. As a recent Citizen's Advice Bureau report noted, securing such employment is problematic and there is inadequate state support in the form of tax credits and childcare support to make employment viable for many single parents (Citizen's Advice Bureaux, 2008). Single income households (regardless of whether there is non-earning partner in the household) frequently have higher levels of residential mobility than single parent families given that parents are frequently reluctant to disrupt children's schooling or other important support networks. This finding reinforces the relevance of deploying feminist critiques of dominant welfare typologies in review of key policy areas which impact on lone parent households' housing choices, notably at the point of housing crisis.

Interestingly in Leeds, similar levels of respondents suggested that single income households and lone parents were perceived as being susceptible to homelessness (67 per cent and 70 per cent). By implication, even those households with an income (albeit a sole income) were perceived as being just as vulnerable to homelessness as families headed by a lone parent who are already over represented in social housing in England and frequently in receipt of welfare benefit support. This strongly suggests that income levels supported by the fragile breadwinner model were perceived as more important than household type by the Leeds respondents in determining homelessness outcomes in the English instrumental case study city. This finding is congruent with England's largely liberalist housing system where state housing comprises only one fifth of total housing stock. Further research is required to assess the factors which have influenced the responses of those interviewed and in particular, research which would deconstruct the apparent synonymous nature of single income households and lone parenthood in the minds of the Leeds respondents when conceptualising homelessness risk.

In both Lyon and Cork, income alone appeared inadequate in safeguarding against risk of homelessness to a lesser degree than in the Leeds case. In

Lyon, those interviewed suggested that that lone parent families were four times more vulnerable to homelessness than single income households with no children (13 per cent and 60 per cent respectively). But in Cork, single parent families were seen as only twice as vulnerable to homelessness than being a single income household (60 per cent and 33 per cent). Given Ireland's emphasis on anti-poverty strategies, it seems feasible that this policy emphasis impacted on the responses of those interviewed. Further research is required to explore and assess the relative relevance of income in Cork and Lyon in mitigating homelessness for single women (with no children) compared to single parent families and in particular in isolating the variables (such as the perceived impact of anti-poverty strategies) which contributed to this finding. Further research could also focus on housing affordability ratios and could assess the way in which income moderates the risk of homelessness in the three case cities. Data on income by head of household (using gender as a variable) would also provide a basis for a further gender critique of the relevance of income within contemporary homelessness systems. It is likely that other factors may well be at play here which would service to explain this anomaly reflected in this Irish case study. For example, what distinct characteristics of the Irish welfare and the institutional arrangements which support it protect single parents more than their English and French counterparts when faced with homelessness? Might this be linked with the enduring representation of the Irish mother reinforced by Catholicism and the philanthropic nature of the voluntary homelessness sector for Irish women?

7.4 Women and Poverty in the English Context

Private housing markets in England and most obviously the owner occupied housing sectors have favoured dual earning households. Writing in 1990 at the height of neoliberalism, Saunders' characterisation of England as a "nation of home owners" exemplified the dominant ideology of the day. The relentless promotion of homeownership at this time to the detriment of the social housing sector is well documented (Kemp, 2004; Malpass and Means, 1993). The

deregulation of the private rented sector through the implementation of the Housing act 1988 added further fuel to the fire of liberalism.

Households therefore in receipt state benefits or in low paid employments face significant disadvantage in gaining access to the dominant tenure group of homeownership in England. Groups such as women who suffer disproportionately from the effects of poverty are therefore more disadvantaged within housing systems which demand capital wealth to acquire and sustain accommodation, a position which is accentuated by house price increases given the evidence which exists to support the assertion that that housing booms disproportionately disadvantage women (see section 3.9). During the housing boom of the 1980s, women and in particular single women who did not have the equivalent economic earning power of a male partner, experienced difficulties in entering and remaining in the owner occupied sector. Morris and Winn's influential study of equal opportunity and housing in 1990 concluded that women were significantly disadvantaged across all housing tenure groups in England. The findings of the London Housing Unit (1993) in its research entitled "*Housing the Poorer Sex*" made similar observations when the affordability of owner occupation and the private rented sector for single women was brought into serious question. As a result, according to the London Housing Unit report of 1993, single women were forced to rent bedsits in a poor state of repair located in undesirable areas or compelled, to purchase properties in need of extensive repair and maintenance in the absence of alternatives. No published research to date has confirmed whether this trend has persisted in 2000 onwards. But one of the homelessness managers interviewed for this thesis pointed to the financial realities faced by many women when seeking accommodation:

"Women tend not to be the earning party, they tend to become disadvantaged. So because they are disadvantaged, their housing options are reduced, they can't use the private sector…even the social housing sector can be more challenging because of price. So finances are incredibly important".

Local Services Manager, male, voluntary sector housing support organisation.

During the period 1971 – 2001, the UK had the second highest level of house price inflation in real terms in Europe recorded at 2.4 per cent and the Republic of Ireland the third highest at 2.2 per cent (the highest recorded being in Spain) (Barker, 2004). Real house price increases were relatively modest in France at only 0.8 per cent. The lowest level was recorded in Sweden was 1.0 per cent. Summary data for real house price inflation based for on the UK (data for England were not available), France and the Republic of Ireland is found in Table 26:

Table 26: Real House Price Inflation Trent 1971 – 2001 in England, Ireland and France.	
	Real House Prince Inflation
UK	2.4%
Republic of Ireland	2.2%
France	0.8%

Adapted from Barker (2004).

Lack of resources, especially if a woman had lived a life of financial dependence on a violent partner and subsequently becomes a single mother, can begin a rapid spiral into homelessness (Teeside Homeless Action Group, 2002). Furthermore, a period of homelessness can further negatively impact on someone whose financial resources were scarce beforehand. In short, being homeless is costly in every sense. As one local authority homeless service interviewed for this thesis manager put it:

"There will be a lot of women who have previously been homeless and who have come out of homelessness and go back to work – but end up being in worse situation financially because they were homeless…being homeless in itself is expensive".

Strategic Housing Business Manager, female, local authority.

Another statutory sector respondent noted how single parent families suffered particular hardship in the event of homelessness:

"The single mothers and their children are our main client group. I see them come into hostels with nothing. Literally the clothes they're standing up in. The very fact that they are living in an unfamiliar environment, very often in another part of Leeds or another city adds to their financial burden because they have to get their children to school in another part of the city. They have to shop in local shops which are expensive. It is not cheap to live in a hostel – think about it".

Social Care Manager, female, Sure Start, social services.

The increased financial cost involved of leaving the former home was well illustrated by one of the respondents in the follow up semi-structured interviews who outlined how his voluntary sector organisation sought to provide practical help with essential items:

"Because women tend to be the ones who move out, it's a generalisation but women tend to find it more difficult both physically and technically to take possessions with them….things like washing machines, dryer, fridge, actually getting the outside the door….So we end up trying to get items back that the women need or we end up supplying new ones to replace those that they have had to leave behind".

Local Services Manager, male, voluntary sector housing support organisation.

Another homeless manager from social services in Leeds pointed to the way in which poverty amongst women meant that emergency hostel frequently represented the only option, despite the fact that this accommodation type may not always be suitable:

"When women and families become homeless, the impact of poverty means that they do not have an option. So they have to go into emergency accommodation which is probably the least satisfactory option open to them, for the family as a whole particularly".

Social Care Manager, female, Sure Start, Social Services.

The homelessness system in Leeds may seek holistic solutions relative to the other two case study cities but the case study evidence suggests that societal link between poverty in women and exceptionally limited housing choices has not yet been adequately addressed. Another Leeds respondent highlighted the need to tackle the poverty trap for part time women workers who find themselves faced with homelessness:

"Of course, there are organisations there who can help, who will help. But if you are in that sort of poverty trap of being in work but in low paid work, then you will get stuck in the poverty trap".

Social Care Manager, female, Sure Start, Social Services.

7.5 Labour Markets and Women in England

In England, women now constitute over half of the country's labour force and more than half are further education students, compared to just one third in the 1970s (McKenzie, 2003). Women's gross weekly earnings have more than trebled since 1981 (although clearly ratios of housing affordability are relevant here) and women on average earn around £510 per week (ONS, 2008).

Yet parity of income between men and women has yet to be achieved in England. The disproportionate effects of poverty experienced by women was captured well in the pioneering research project "*Breadline Britain in the 1990s"* undertaken by Mack and Lansley in 1991. This research provides a detailed overview of the key groups most vulnerable to poverty in England from 1985 –

1990. Amongst the categories of those most at risk are women and in particular, lone parents.

Payne and Pantazis (1999) have developed a further critique of the *"Breadline Britain"* research and in particular point to some of the deficiencies in the methodology applied in the collation and analysis of the data related to poverty. The greatest limitations the approach used here, they assert, relate to the overall limitations of survey methodologies *per se* and their reliance on quantitative approaches when examining notions of poverty. In addition, the use of the household classification (as distinct from individuals) may have served to camouflage the degrees of deprivation experienced by individual household members. Payne and Pantazis (ibid) cite the findings of Graham (1993) to show how food is unequally shared in a household when resources are limited with men and boys getting the lion's share and how men tend to use private transport more than women (Payne, 1991).

A more up to date and arguably more robust analysis based on the English experience is the comprehensive assessment of poverty and social exclusion undertaken jointly by the Universities of Bristol, York, the London School of Economics and Loughborough in 1999 on behalf of the Joseph Rowntree Foundation (Gordon *et al*, 1999). Using a number of integrated, aggregated data sources including some of the data from Mack and Lansley's 1991 analysis, additional government statistics and primary data regarding public perceptions of poverty in England, the research integrated absolute and well as relative definitions of poverty. A key dimension of this work is its methodological approach which proclaims its transferability to the international level. The published final report *"Poverty and Social Exclusion: A Survey in Britain"* has provided some interesting findings in respect to women's income levels. The research has been described by one commentator as making available the "*most comprehensive and scientifically rigorous survey of its kind ever undertaken...* (by providing) *unparalleled detail about deprivation and exclusion among the British population at the close of the twentieth century"* (Fahamy,

2002, page 23). Here again, single women, lone parent households headed by a woman and social housing tenants were identified (amongst other groups including the elderly and disabled) as being most vulnerable to poverty. The reference to social housing tenants here is of relevant since, as this thesis has already noted, women (both single and lone parents) are substantially more likely to be dependent on public sector housing resources than their male counterparts.

Government welfare policy since 1997 in the UK has emphasised the model of tax credits to encourage women to return to work following the birth of a child. In effect, tax credits are another form of welfare benefit given that they are means tested. The rationale of the economic man is implicit within the tax credit ideology given that the payments aim to support working parents and in particular working mothers. Supplementary income through the tax credit system is also available to finance any childcare not provided by immediate members of the child's family. Despite the introduction of tax credits, concerns continue to be voiced in 2009 regarding the level of what is euphemistically referred to as "child poverty", euphemistically because definitions of child poverty in effect reflect parental poverty and poverty disproportionately impacts on lone parents. Other countries have adopted a very different tact to tackling child and parental poverty. One good example is the Swedish model where welfare interventionist approaches have been directly instrumental in minimising child poverty resulting in the highest level of female workforce supplemented by benefits and maternity allowances in Western Europe.

Role reversal in undertaking paid employment has a certain inevitability in England given increasing house prices (although these have been somewhat moderated by the credit crunch) and an overall lack of social housing. The image of the career mother has become exaggerated in the popular media to make the point. The representation of the alpha female where women assume the role of principal breadwinner whilst their male partners stay and home and take care of the children is portrayed as more common in the present time (Tyre and Mc Ginn, 2003). Role reversal may be on the increase but the proportion of

households to whom this applies is relatively small (estimated around 5 per cent of couples in England case (Tyre and Mc Ginn, 2003).

In classic liberalist tradition, the English government has once again turned to legislation to tackling gender inequality on the grounds of income. Such measures are designed to introduce further transparency regarding income levels across all employment sectors. Women in England are now beginning to question whether their dual position as breadwinners and mothers is both sustainable and fulfilling. Is this combined role another form of abuse for women represented under the guise of "giving the child the best possible start in life" through financial remuneration? When asked to reflect on the dual demands of being a parents and breadwinner, high levels of dissatisfaction and disillusionment amongst women were recorded in a survey of 2,000 women in England (Frean, 2004). Over three quarters of the women who participated in this research said that in addition to a full time job, they took full responsibility for looking after their children. Those surveyed also suggested that they were unable to consider part time work because of the high level of their outgoings (including housing costs). Leaving work to become a full time unpaid mother simply was not an option given the inevitable ensuing financial harship.

According to research conducted by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation focusing on women born in 1958, women still receive less income than men despite the implementation of a raft of equal opportunities measures at a national level. Key conclusions emanating from the report include:

- Four fifths of women who lived with a male partner brought in substantially less than half the households income.

- Without child benefit, one fifth of married women would be completely dependent on their partners for financial support.
- Women who earn less money outside the home tend to more work inside the home.

(Leigh, 2008).

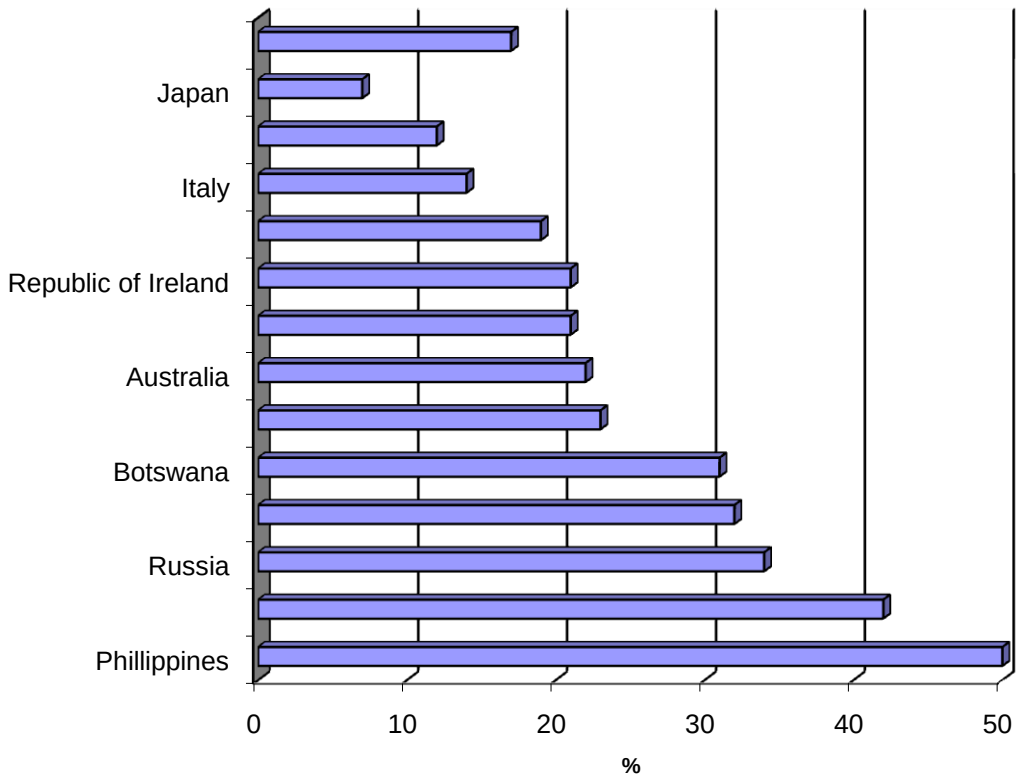
Other research published by the Trade Union Congress in a report entitled *"Beating the Gender Poverty Gap"* asserted that two thirds of adult women (62 per cent) have below average income compared to just over half (56 per cent) of the adult male population. The report also points to the economic disadvantage women experience when they reach pensionable age. For example, although single men have an average disposable income of £156 per week, the equivalent figure for single women is just £125. The income disparity becomes even more accentuated with regard to couples in receipt of pension where the figures for men and women each week are £146 to £50 respectively. In July 2007, pension poverty was highlighted as an acute problem for older women, a phenomenon which has resulted from women undertaking unpaid childcare and therefore being defined economically inactive for pension calculation purposes (Age Concern, 2007). The TUC study also showed that women who have childcare responsibilities are more likely to experience poverty because of the lack of affordable childcare in England (Trade Union Congress, 2003). This was reiterated by research undertaken in 2003 by the University of Manchester which has showed that women who take career breaks to have children earn on average 15 per cent less than their female counterparts who did not have children (Doward, 2003). This economic disadvantage, often compounded by childcare responsibilities, significantly impacts of women's capacity to acquire and sustain independent accommodation, a problem exacerbated by lack of eligibility for the social housing sector unless statutory homelessness provisions apply.

7.6 Income Differentials in England

Despite an overall increase in women's gross earnings more globally, a substantial body of evidence exists which suggests that disparities of income continue to persist between men and women in 2008 at an international level. Data from 32 countries published in the International Business Report involving

7,200 medium and large companies 2007 shows that Britain is the fourth worst country for giving women top executive jobs. By contrast, the successful tiger economies of the Far East have significantly more women occupying senior management roles (Rogers, 2007). Research for the Cabinet Office's Women's Unit undertaken in 2003, which factors in other benefits such as pension rights and sick pay, has indicated that a semi-skilled childless women is likely to receive £241,000 less that a man with equivalent skills levels over the course of a lifetime in England (Mackenzie, 2003).

Chart 16:Number Of Women in Senior Management Jobs (%)



Adapted from Rogers (2007).

Women and specifically parents remain tend to be concentrated in the most poorly paid sectors of employment in England. Responsibilities such as

childcare or caring for an elderly or disabled relative (roles undertaken by more women than men) have meant that women often are required to work part-time and/or take career breaks (Mackenzie, 2003). Equal pay legislation, implemented in England through the Equal Pay Act 1976, has, of course, sought to challenge these inequities. Yet women are still forced to mount challenges against employers regarding unequal pay for ostensibly the same post or the equivalent post (Schindler, 2002).

An interesting variation of this theme is provided by Arnaud (2003) whose research strongly suggests that women choose to have lower pay than men because they seek more flexibility and more altruistic career paths than men. Using survey data from over 10,000 students who graduated in 1995 from 30 universities and colleges across the country which showed a 12 per cent difference between mean and women's income, the findings indicate that women as young as 17 consciously choose careers which will allow for motherhood and careers to be effectively combined. Other commentators have challenged these findings by suggesting that the pay gap is self-perpetuating and that women seek out the company of other women who are over represented in particular professions (see Elliot and Maurice, 2003). Perhaps more significantly is the extent to which career women are abandoning successful careers to spend more time with their small children because of the dual pressures of working and being a full time unpaid mother. The management accountants Price Waterhouse Cooper reported a new trend in 2007 whereby more women were leaving successful careers or down shifting; to spend more time to their children. The report suggests that unless companies adopt more family friendly polices, they are storing up problems for the future as more women flee corporate life. Not surprisingly, the problem is less acute with very high earning women for whom childcare costs are not a factor (Barrow, 2007).

The homelessness respondents interviewed in Leeds demonstrated a much greater capacity for interconnecting principal reasons for homelessness,

pointing to the value of an interdisciplinary, holistic approach. This was perhaps best expressed by one of the managers of a voluntary sector women's hostel during the semi-structured interviews who said:

"Women with children tend not to be the earning party, they tend to become disadvantaged. So because they are disadvantaged, their housing options are reduced, they can't use the private sector…even the social housing sector can be more challenging because of price. So finances are incredibly important".

Local Services Manager, male, voluntary sector housing support organisation.

Another respondent explicitly pointed to value of seeing the interconnections between principal reasons for homelessness in women:

"Poverty is interrelated to the problem of domestic violence…it is very, very hard to disentangle the two. When women and families become homeless, the impact of poverty means that they do not have an option. So they have to go into emergency accommodation which is probably the least satisfactory option open to them, for the family as a whole particularly".

Social Care Manager, female, Sure Start, social services.

7.7 Women and Poverty in the Irish Context

The relative concept of poverty has been formally adopted by the Irish Government through the National Anti-Poverty Strategy (NAPS) first developed in 1997. According to the NAPS definition, people live in poverty if"*if their income and resources (material, cultural and social) are so inadequate as to preclude them from having a standard of living, which is regarded as acceptable by Irish society generally. As a result of inadequate income and resources people may be excluded and marginalised from participating in activities which are considered the norm for other people in society*"

(NAPS, 2007, page 1).

Crucially, a significant proportion of women notably those living in Ireland's refuges, hostels gypsies and travellers, asylum seekers and immigrants may not even be recognised in official statistics due to poor reporting mechanisms (National Women's Council for Ireland, 2001).

This NAPS definition of poverty represents a departure i in Ireland which until relatively recently had focused on absolute notions of poverty. Whether or the advent of the Celtic Tiger economy in the mid 1990s has ameliorated poverty levels in Ireland remains an animated debate. Reynolds and Healy writing in 1998 noted that alongside record high levels of foreign investment in Ireland, the number of people living on 60 per cent of the national income rose from 24 per cent of the population to 35 per cent. But one third remains classified as living below the poverty line with women remain disproportionately represented in the latter group.

Mothers in Ireland face the dual challenge of placating a country where notions of the family continue to dominate, albeit recently in more moderated forms, and the emergence of an economy which requires part time workers in the service sector, a gap frequently filled by female employees. For many women, equality of income has yet to be achieved across a range of employment sectors, a

substantial challenge in a country where motherhood is still viewed unapologetically as a laudable career (Nolan and Watson, 1999). Whelan and Maitre's study (2006) shows that this trend has not yet diminished and highlights Ireland as a case study country which exemplifies the way in which poorer households may become more economically vulnerable unless adequate social protection measures are in place to both moderate and redistribute capital wealth. Although there is also some evidence to suggest that the surge in the Irish economy in the 1990s served to reduce the risk of poverty amongst two parent households with children during the 1990s, there has been a recorded corresponding increase in the risk of poverty for single person households, notably those headed by a retired person and female headed households (Callan, 1999). Figures from the Centre for Ageing Research and Development in Ireland in 2008 show that although more women have entered the paid employment market in 2008 (61 per cent in 2008 compared to just 48 per cent in 1998), may women remain concentrated in the poorest paid jobs.

The structure of the Irish welfare system reinforces women's role in colluding with the male breadwinner model. The Irish Council for Women in its review of the national anti-poverty strategy of 2000 pointed clearly to the gendered nature of the Irish welfare system:

"This model of social welfare is referred to as the male breadwinner model as it emphasises the male role as the breadwinner and the women's role as homemakers i.e. wives, mothers and daughters…. this is reinforced through a range of polices to consolidate the male role as the breadwinner and women's role as economical dependants."

(National Council for Women, 2001, page 2).

The work of the Women in the Labour Force group in Ireland reiterates the dominance of women in part time paid employment where a study found that 111,100 women were engaged in part-time work compared to just 37,100 men.

(Ruane and Sutherland, 1999). Research by Ireland's National Women's Council published in 2000 and 2001 related incidences of low pay for women to a surge in part time employment in service industries. The research also showed that female industrial workers in the Republic of Ireland continue to earn less than their male counterparts - female hourly earnings remained at just 75 per cent of male earnings in 1997 (National Women's Council for Ireland, 2000; 2001).

The Irish government has favoured private property ownership in recent years, a commitment manifested through the provision of generous subsidies and support for the commodification of the small proportion of social housing (see section 4.3). Novac *et al's* (1996) observation that market dominated housing policies disadvantage women, particularly female-led households, remains relevant in the Republic of Ireland today. In particular, women who are single or lone parents in receipt of state benefits and/or are in low paid employment tend not to enjoy the housing prosperity experienced other households. According to data from Women's Aid in Republic of Ireland, the vast majority of women who seek emergency refuge accommodation have no income and therefore no financial means to secure accommodation in the private housing sector. (Women's Aid, 2000). According to Memery (2001), house price inflation during and following the Celtic Tiger boom directly caused an increase in homelessness in Ireland with a limited increase in social protection afforded by Ireland's relatively primitive welfare state. This deficit inevitably has caused a bottleneck in voluntary sector hostel and refuge accommodation in Ireland, a problem confirmed by one of the homelessness managers interviewed for the thesis who stated:

"There are more outlets for women now but moving on is a lot more difficult. Getting a private rented property is very difficult, to be sure. Everybody's dream here is to own their own home – to be able to come in, close the door and not answer it to anybody. A lot of women coming from the refuges and hostels will

find it extremely difficult unless they go for something like shared ownership or other affordable housing".

Outreach Worker, female, local authority.

Another homelessness manager in Cork pointed to the problems with private rented accommodation and lack of regulation of private sector landlords:

"Private rented accommodation here in Ireland is not that great. Often, people are on subsidies from the Health Board. Landlords here seem to be able to get away with murder…they should register with the health authority but they don't all do that…some of the properties are appalling, really appalling but it's either that or stay in a shelter. "

Outreach Worker, female, local authority.

Another Cork respondent suggested that women with children experienced more problems that either single men or single women in securing private rented accommodation:

"Women with children find it harder to sort private rented accommodation than, say, a woman on her own or a man on his own".

House Supervisor, hostel, male, voluntary sector.

This fundamental problem with affordable housing supply for women was affirmed by one of the respondents interviewed for this thesis who said:

"Housing is really expensive these days in Ireland. If you're a woman on your own with children, you're really stuffed. The housing department here will have a look at your application and you can try and landlord to take you on rent allowance but that's as far as you'll go in the short term. The women we see

here don' t really have a radical change in their financial circumstances which would enable them to buy somewhere. I can't think of any time in my 8 years of hostel work where that has happened".

Outreach Worker, female, local authority.

One Cork respondent reported how women moderated their aspirations to fit the realities of the housing system in Ireland:

"For a lot of women and men, local authority housing is as far as they'll every go. They consider council property as their own home, that is where they are aspiring to".

Outreach Worker, female, local authority.

One of the refuge managers interviewed for the study demonstrated how women's employability had become significantly reduced as a result of being full time mother:

"Most of the women we see have been full time mothers for a long time. They left their careers behind a long time ago to focus on rearing the children. That's fine as long as you stay in the marriage and the man's working but when it goes wrong, your options are just so limited".

Refuge manager, female, voluntary sector.

Another respondent who worked for Cork City Council pointed to the extent to which hostels were prohibitively expensive:

"A lot of women we have (at the refuge) *want to work but it's just not possible. Hostel costs are so expensive –it's just not worth it. ....The preference would be local authority housing because private landlords are not always inclined to rent*

out to women and children – even though there is rent allowance. This (the council) *would be their first route to permanent accommodation".*

Senior homelessness manager, female, local authority.

7.8 Women and Poverty in the French Context

As in England and Ireland, women comprise the majority of part-time workers in France and are often concentrated in the less well paid, insecure professions. They frequently have to work longer hours than their male counterparts and are disproportionately poorer than men as their pension contributions have been substantially less (Commission for European Communities, 1993). Ample evidence points to the relevance of tackling poverty to break the cycle of homelessness in France. Edgar and Doherty's mainly descriptive account published in 2000 demonstrates how lack of income is a common factor which unifies those women using France's temporary accommodation networks (Edgar and Doherty, 2000). The work of Firdion and Marpsat (2007) equally shows how poverty is a key institutional factor in causing homelessness amongst women.

However, there is persuasive evidence to show is that many women in France are more likely to remain in the same part-time job over many more years, most importantly after the child bearing years than their English and Irish counterparts. This stability leads to better promotion opportunities as well as additional pension rights. Government incentives to French employers to recruit part time workers encourage this trend. Maternity benefits and childcare benefits are also substantially more generous in France than they are in England and Ireland (Rives and Yousefi, 1997).

The Lyon respondents were most likely to refer to social influence, patriarchal structures and the need to galvanise political will in mitigating income related factors which cause homelessness in women. This position is perhaps best captured by one of the Lyon voluntary sector homelessness managers who, during the semi-structured interview, said:

"Très fortement lie à l'influence sociale c'est plus souvent les femmes qui se trouvent sans logement. C'est plus souvent le mari qui travaille et après une rupture familiale elles se retrouvent sans logement et dans les foyers. Les

hommes trouvent du logement plus facilement parce qu'ils travaillent et donc ils ont de l'argent pour payer un logement".

"Very strongly linked to social influence…..It is more often women who find themselves without a place to live. After family break ups it is more often them who lose their homes and end up in hostels. Men find a home more easily because they work and have money to pay for it".

Manager, Male, of municipality refuge for women with children, Lyon.

Another manager of a voluntary sector project spoke explicitly about housing inequalities:

"Les choix politiques en la matière sont difficiles. Dans certains cas, la situation économique de la plupart des ménages peut s'améliorer avec une pauvreté générale en baisse et en même temps la situation des plus pauvres peut empirer. Il faut s'occuper à la fois de la situation d'ensemble et des inégalités. On peut penser que pour une part la crise générale du logement en France est liée à une aggravation des inégalités".

"Political choices are difficult. In certain cases, the economic situations of most households can improve with lowering poverty and at the same time the situation of the poorest people can worsen. We need to tend to the situation and the inequalities at the same time. One idea is that to a certain extent the general housing crisis in France is linked to an increase in inequalities".

Manager, female, manager of voluntary sector hostel for women and children in Lyon.

Another respondent, the manager of the local authority's hostel, succinctly highlighted women's frequent financial dependence on men and the importance of adequate financial resources in preventing homelessness in the French context:

"Apres les ruptures familiales il y' a souvent un du couple qui se trouve dans une situation difficile, c'est plus souvent les femmes parce que c'est souvent le mari qui travail. Sans emploi et sans argent est souvent suivi par une perte de logement."

"After family break up, there is often one of the couple who find themselves in a difficult situation and it's more often the woman because generally it's the man who works. No job and no money is often followed by the loss of shelter".

Manager, male, manager of municipality refuge for women with children.

Another respondent speaking about lone parents pointed to women's frequent economic dependency on a male partner and how the removal of that income source frequently results in homelessness:

"A la suite de séparation, de chômage, de maladie qui entraîne. Elles perdent des ressources d l'homme et puis elles perdent leur logement".

"Following separation, unemployment and the ills which follow. They (women) *lose their resources and then lose their housing."*

Manager, female, voluntary sector refuge for single women and women with children.

Another respondent suggested that women in paid employment were equally likely to have financial problems than men:

“C’est financier. Si elles ont les moyens il n y a pas de problème. Si elles travaillent elles ont autant de chance de se retrouver dans une situation précaire qu’un homme“.

“It’s financial. If they have the means, then there is no problem. If they work, then they have as much chance of finding themselves in financial difficulty as a man does”.

Manager, male, of municipality refuge for women with children, Lyon.

Another interviewee suggested that many poorer households in France, both men and women, managed to secure accommodation but that poorer households have become increasingly residualised in both the social and private rented sector. This view suggests that there are distinct characteristics within the French housing system, notably social and private rented sectors, which are more responsive to poorer households:

“Certes beaucoup de personnes pauvres ne sont pas bien logées, mais il n’y a pas de lien automatique. Mais il y a aussi beaucoup de personnes dont les ressources sont en dessous du seuil de pauvreté et qui parviennent tout de même à conserver un logement décent. Cela dit, le logement social destiné en priorité aux personnes pauvres, est en crise : Constructions insuffisantes, mobilité fortement en baisse depuis quelques années, quasi disparition du parc privé accessible aux pauvres, sauf logement indigne.".

“Admittedly, many poor people are not well housed but there is no automatic link here. But there are also many people whose resources are below the poverty line and who manage all the same to maintain decent housing. Having said that, the social housing sector, intended to give priority for poor people, is in crisis: Insufficient constructions, mobility has recently strongly dropped with the disappearance of the private (rented) *housing accessible to the poor, except in unsuitable housing”.*

Manager, male, municipality refuge for women with children.

In France, women are disproportionately represented amongst groups defined as unemployed. One source suggests that they comprise less than half the people in work (45 per cent), but more than half of the unemployed (51 per cent) because the definition of unemployment which excludes full time mothers (Maruani, 1997). By implication, this definition awards a status to full time mothers in France as being in work by the welfare system despite the fact that this work does not attract financial remuneration other than through the maternity benefit and child benefits thereby reinforcing the different value of motherhood in the French typology which in turns promotes a more positive discourse around full time mothers.

The trend of women's disproportionate representation of groups is poverty has also been highlighted by a survey undertaken by INSEE, the National Institute for Statistics and Economic Research, where the overall national unemployment rate in 1996 was broken down by gender. Here, the figures were 10 per cent in the case of male unemployment but recorded at 14 per cent for women. This excessive unemployment is encountered in all ages and socio-professional groups but the situation is most critical among young people under the age of 25 (INSEE, 1996).

Other statistical evidence shows that, after some twenty years of mass unemployment, there are now nearly 11.5 million working women in France, compared with 6.5 million in 1960. Levels of male employment, on the other

hand, are static or in decline. (Maruani, 1997). On one level, women's shift from the unpaid (notably childcare or other caring responsibilities) to the paid employment sector represents a significant step forward for women wishing to exercise their right to work rather than to stay at home. But women comprise the majority of part-time workers in France, thus reflecting the trend in other parts of Europe and are often concentrated in the less well paid, insecure professions. They frequently have to work longer hours than their male counterparts and are disproportionately poorer than men as their pension contributions have been substantially less (Commission for European Communities, 1993).

The research undertaken for this thesis has shown how female hostel residents are over represented amongst groups living in poverty and frequently are required to take part time, unskilled jobs in Lyon:

"La proportion de femmes « travailleurs pauvres » parce que subissant un temps partiel non désiré, des emplois instables, très peu qualifiés et mal payés est sans doute plus importante que celle des hommes."

"The number of women who suffer from unstable jobs, part time work which isn't their choice, a lack of qualifications and insufficient pay is definitely higher than the number of men".

Director (male), NGO hostel for women with children, Lyon.

Other data suggests that women who are defined as economically active i.e. not registered disabled and not full time carers are more likely to be registered unemployed in France; the figure women is 11 per cent and men 14 per cent respectively (DARES, 1999). Disparities also exist with regard to the number of hours women work in France and their income levels when compared with men. One source suggests that just under a third of all women who are in employment in France work part-time compared to just 5 per cent of men (Mina Coull and Tatinville, 2000). Women also earn the equivalent of just 75 per cent

of the income earned by men in equivalent jobs (DARES, 1999). This average income disparity has more recently been confirmed by research undertaken by FEANTSA (2000) where there is reportedly a 25 per cent gap in income between men and women which, the report argues, significantly contributes to women's risk of homelessness.

According to another local government respondent in Lyon interviewed for this thesis, the further promotion of paid employment opportunities is the way forward in dealing with housing exclusion:

« Si on peut resoudre la pauvete, le reste suivra. Les conditions des gens sans travaille est toujours pire que ceux des gens qui travaillent".

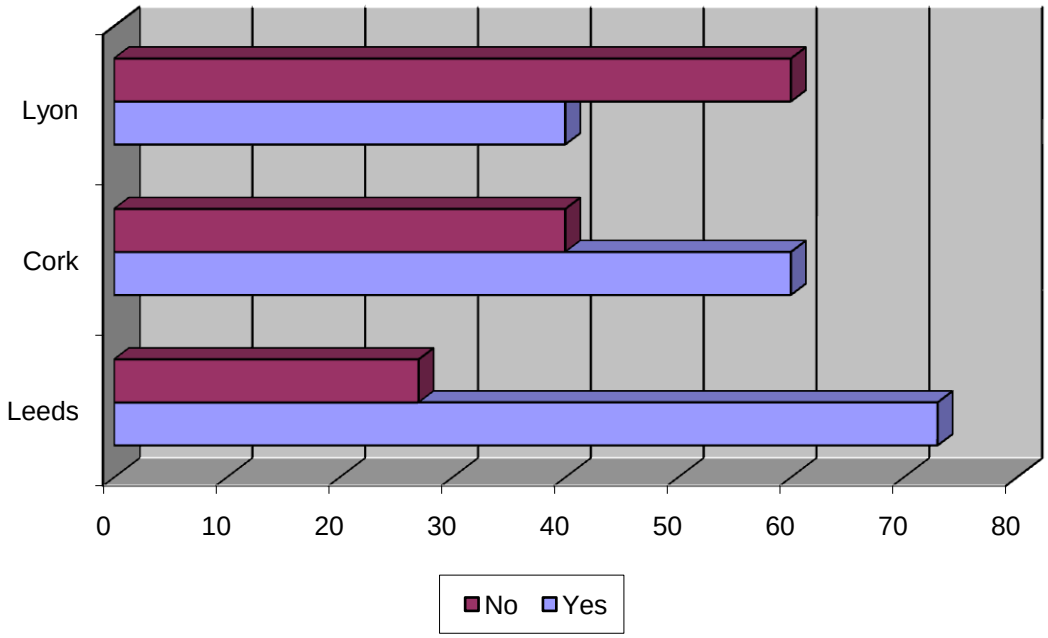
"If we could solve the problem of poverty, then the rest would follow. The living conditions of those out of work are always worse than those of people who work".

Manager, male, of municipality refuge for women with children.

The extent to which the Lyon respondents stressed employment as a means of addressing homelessness in women warrants further research by focusing on the strategic and policy links between gender equality, employability and homelessness alleviation and prevention within the French context. One proposition is that the dominance of the social cohesion agenda serves to mitigate homelessness by alleviating poverty in women in Lyon. Further research could focus on similarities and differences in broad antipoverty approaches in Lyon and Cork.

The Leeds homelessness professionals were most likely to see dependence on state benefits as increasing vulnerability to homelessness for both men and women (73 per cent, compared to 60 per cent in Cork and 40 per cent in Lyon using findings following analysis of the quantitative surveys).

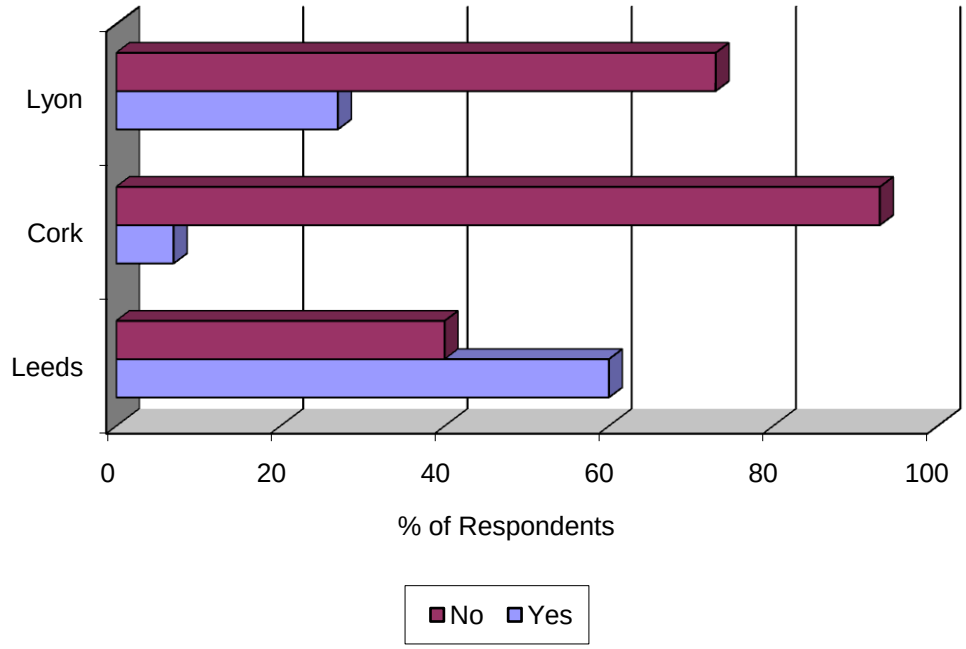
Chart 17: Perception of Welfare Benefit Dependency as a Trigger to Homelessness: Men and Women by Case Study City
(% of Respondents)



The research findings based on analysis of the quantitative survey data show that homelessness professionals in Leeds were most likely to consider that living in poverty was most frequently acted as trigger homelessness in women (60 per cent). But this applied to just a third of respondents in Lyon (27 per cent) and a mere 7 per cent in Cork.

N = 45

Chart 18: Perception of Poverty As a Primary Trigger by Case Study City
(% of Respondents)



Respondents in Leeds were also three times as likely to suggest that *poverty* represented a primary trigger to homelessness for women than *welfare benefit dependency* (60 per cent compared to just 20 per cent respectively). Further research would assess the extent to which definitions of poverty and welfare benefit dependency held similar meanings in the three case study cities. But that withstanding, this finding suggests a close association in the minds of Leeds respondents with women's homelessness as being prompted by inequality of income rather than a culture of benefit dependency. This suggests that England is over reliant on liberalist market based solutions to housing problems to the detriment of broader social protection measures. The social housing movement's current emphasis in England on the eradication of worklessness following the publication of John Hills' influential review of the sector published in 2006 alongside punitive measures to encourage women back into the workplace may go some way to explaining this finding. It could be argued this emphasis on worklessness is one step towards the French system of means testing eligibility for initial and continued occupation of social housing.

In Lyon, analysis of the quantitative data showed that respondents believed that those women in receipt of state benefits were more likely to be more vulnerable to homelessness than those living in poverty (40 per cent compared to 27 per cent).

N = 45

Conversely, in Lyon, respondents believed that those women in receipt of state benefits were more likely to be vulnerable to homelessness than those living in poverty (40 per cent compared to 27 per cent). Another area of further research is the extent to which women in hostels are dependent on state benefits and how many are in paid employment. In France, the fact that social housing is means tested demonstrates that this tenure is still viewed as available to those households who may be in work but who have a low income thereby diluting the perception that occupants of social housing are for the most part wholly dependent on benefits (as is the case in England). Such perceptions have promoted a largely negative discourse around English social housing. By contrast, the HLM sector in France is less likely to reflect spatial gender inequalities as it is in England or Ireland (the latter to a lesser degree). One possible explanation for this finding is that one sole income in Lyon, even a part-time one, may be viewed as sufficient in mitigating homelessness by allowing for access to the private rented housing as well as social housing. The extent to which the French private rented sector is heavily regulated (relative to England and Ireland) is likely to be relevant thereby representing a viable alternative to social housing. Further research is needed to explore this interesting finding. This research could take the form of further analysis of the housing careers of women who have left hostels and refuges to move into alternative accommodation and the extent to which these housing decisions choices were led by income or other factors. Hostel accommodation may be prohibitively expensive and therefore catapult women further into the welfare dependency system. More research is needed on this theme is needed to assess the extent to female which hostel/refuge residents are more likely to be claiming benefits in France than in England or Ireland. This research could take

the form of a relative cost analysis of income and hostel costs by gender in the three case study countries.

In Cork, both poverty and welfare dependency were viewed as substantially less of a risk to homelessness in women and were each recorded at only 7 per cent. N = 45

By contrast, respondents in Cork believed that both poverty and welfare dependency represented much less of a risk to homelessness amongst women. This is a highly interesting finding on two counts. First of all, Ireland has used antipoverty strategies as its principal vehicle for tacking homelessness. Further research is needed to establish the extent to which the antipoverty approach has been successful in tacking homelessness. Secondly, mortgage arrears were identified as the key trigger to homelessness for both men and women in Cork and owner occupation is the most popular tenure group (80 per cent). Yet poverty *per se* was not identified increasing the risk of housing exclusion. This suggests that other institutional forms of protection such as family network systems may play a key role in minimising poverty in the event of homelessness as a result of lack of income.

Social housing is viewed by the homelessness professionals in all three case study cities as a springboard to private, namely owner occupied, accommodation but to different degrees. In France, this is made most explicit as social housing is means tested. The extent to which women are fully viewed as dependent on the social housing sector also varied between countries. In both Leeds and Cork, social housing is considered the only route to permanent housing following a period of time in a refuge or other emergency accommodation. But the research evidence from Lyon points to a more flexible housing system where lack of income was not necessarily regarded as increasing dependency on the HLM sector or precluding other housing opportunities for women leaving hostels and refuges. N = 45

7.9 Poverty As A Primary Trigger: A Comparative Summary

The research has shown that approaches to addressing poverty generally varied from country to country. Women in France were more likely to remain in part-time employment than in the other two countries. But an overall lack of income negatively impacted on women's housing opportunities in all three countries. Lyon respondents were most likely to stress employment as a means of addressing homelessness in women. This warrants further research by focusing on the strategic and policy links between gender equality, employability and homelessness alleviation and prevention within the French context. One proposition is that the dominance of the social cohesion agenda serves to mitigate homelessness by alleviating poverty in women in Lyon.

The research findings also show that homelessness professionals in Leeds were most likely to consider that living in poverty was most frequently acted as trigger homelessness in women (60 per cent). But this applied to just a third of respondents in Lyon (27 per cent) and just 7 per cent in Cork. In Lyon, respondents believed that those women in receipt of state benefits were more likely to be vulnerable to homelessness than those living in poverty (40 per cent compared to 27 per cent) suggesting a distinction in the mind of respondents between homelessness as a result of being dependent on welfare benefits or as a result of being defined as living in poverty.

Chapter Seven has demonstrated the importance of paid employment in shaping housing opportunities for women. This adds further legitimacy to the assertion that welfare regime theory grossly under estimates the contribution of unpaid labour, namely that provided by lone parents. Moreover, part-time employment does not feature in mainstream welfare regime typologies. Women remain over represented amongst poor households in all three case study cities but evidence from Lyon suggests that the risk to homelessness as a result of poverty is less than in Leeds and Cork. Chapter Eight which follow focuses on the household type of lone parenthood as key trigger to homelessness.

CHAPTER EIGHT: HOUSEHOLD TYPE OF LONE PARENT AS PRIMARY TRIGGER

8.1 Summary

This thesis has focused on homelessness women in the three case study countries of England, Ireland and Cork. The thesis has shown how the presence of children radically alters the level of social protection made available to homelessness women (sections 3.3 and 8.4). One commentator has gone as far as saying that policies on lone parents have become the defining litmus test of national welfare regimes (Hobson (1994) in Duncan and Edwards (2003). The discussion in Chapter Eight turns to this phenomenon by focusing on single parents in England, Ireland and France. Here, evidence is provided from testimonies of the homelessness professionals interviewed which shows that being a lone parent was viewed as the factor which most frequently caused homelessness amongst women. The link between lone parenthood and poverty is also made more explicit here. The chapter then highlights the variations between countries in respect of welfare approaches to single parents.

8.2 Most Commonly Cited Trigger to Homelessness

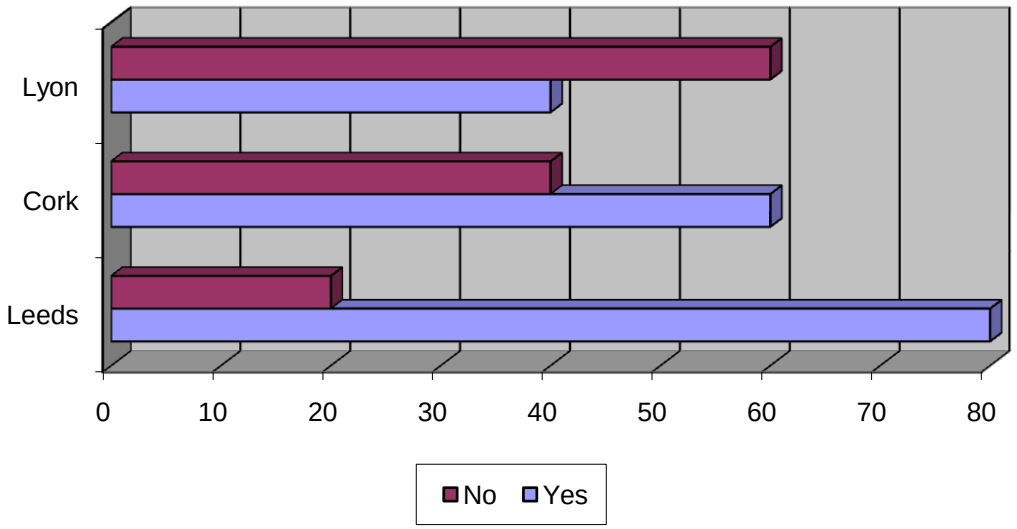
The trigger most commonly cited trigger by homelessness professionals as increasing women's vulnerability to homelessness in Leeds, Cork and Lyon was being a household type of lone parent (Table 25). The research has therefore shown that despite the differences in welfare typologies between England, Ireland and France and the way in which these typologies are enshrined in each country's homeless system, single parent families were seen as the group most vulnerable to homelessness by those working in the field.

Four fifths (80 per cent) of those who participated in the quantitative survey in Leeds said that being a lone parent family was the primary trigger to homelessness, followed by 60 per cent in Cork and 40 per cent in Lyon.

The research suggests that being a lone parent in Lyon halves the risk to homelessness when compared with Leeds (40 per cent and 80 per cent respectively). N = 45

The research findings demonstrate the importance of recognising the way in which lone parents are vulnerable to the most stark forms of socioeconomic exclusion manifested in the form of homelessness. The research for the thesis has also shown that homelessness professionals in Lyon are half as likely as those in Leeds to suggest that lone parenthood increases the risk of homelessness. Further research is required to assess the specific characteristics of the French welfare system which appears to negate against homelessness in lone parent families. It is likely that the effect of *la natalite* manifested by generous welfare benefits alongside a more flexible housing system are contributory factors which appear to mitigate homelessness. The role of the private sector is also worth further scrutiny in this context.

Chart 19: Perception of Household Type of Lone Parent as Primary Trigger By Case Study City
(% of Respondents)



8.3 Household Type of Lone Parents in England

A country's welfare approach is arguably best captured by its treatment of lone parents, hence the description of lone parent policy being the defining litmus test of national welfare regimes (Hobson (1994) in Duncan and Edwards (2003)). Single parent families are over represented in both social housing provision and in emergency hostel accommodation provided by both the statutory or voluntary sector in the three countries selected reviewed in this analysis. This over representation in itself is insightful in demonstrating how welfare regimes are gendered given that negligible value is placed within policy discourse on women's dependence of welfare services relative to men's. Such over representation has been the subject of negative political rhetoric in England in recent times. More obviously, the morality of conservative philosophy particularly under Thatcherism, provided a distorted rational for the demonisation of single parent families. These household types groups were portrayed as deviant and therefore a threat to the perceived social and economic stability provided by of the family. Yet the dual obligation of being in paid employment and providing unpaid childcare has persisted under New Labour. In this sense, welfare approaches in England closely reflect the rational economic man model where paid employment is made even more appealing by its financial and social packaging. Duncan and Edwards (2003) emphasise the way in which the neoliberalist tendency to overtly demonise lone parents, continues to contaminate welfare approaches in England by the dominance of the rational economic man stance. New Labour policy is, on a superficial level, designed to encourage further participation of women in the paid work. But in practice, the threat of benefit cuts if paid employment is not secured introduces a punitive system for single parents.

In France, prevailing welfare approaches have been very different to England's whereby lone parents are in effect treated in the same way as other households with one earning party through the relative generous provision of welfare benefits and childcare support (Miller and Rowlingson, 2001). As a result, two thirds of all single parents are in employment in France (Miller and Rowlingson,

ibid) and claim substantially less state benefits relative to England and Ireland. This compares with 60 per cent in Ireland but crucially, the majority of these Irish households also claim other forms of welfare benefit to supplement their income (Combat Poverty Agency, 2009). In England, 56 per cent in England are in paid employment but here again benefit is supplemented through the welfare system, most recently through the tax credit regime (National Statistics Online, 2009b).

Six out of the seven homelessness managers who took part in the follow up interviews in Leeds considered that lone parents were the social group most likely to use their services. Those interviewed pointed to the way in which lone parenthood was frequently linked to domestic violence and how lone parents were frequently very poor. Respondents also recognised the intergenerational aspect of poverty and homelessness and highlighted both the need to break cycles of deprivation in the long term and pointed to strategic solutions in supporting lone parents at the point of housing crisis.

By contrast, analysis of the Cork respondents' interviews show a greater focus on more fundamental issues such as: the increased demand for homelessness services for single parents; the nature of service delivery in hostels to lone parent families which focused on budgeting skills and cooking skills and the need for housing support and assistance with childcare. Two respondents suggested that although the influence of Catholicism was diminishing in respect of lone parents, it remained a powerful institutional factor.

Data from Communities and Local Government shows that lone parent families with a female head of household are the group which most commonly use homelessness services. For example, in 2007, just under half (48 per cent) of all households accepted as homeless were single parent families and a total of 44 per cent of this group had a female head of household. In 2008, this figure has increased to show that 52 per cent of all households accepted as homeless were single parents with 46 per cent with a female head of household (CLG,

2009c). Other statistics confirm lone parents' dependency on the social housing sector. According to the Survey of English Housing (2008), just under half of all single parent families live in social housing.

Statistics suggest that a total of 93 per cent of households classified as lone parents in England are headed by a woman. In 1996, around three fifths of female lone parents were divorced or separated, about a third had never been married whilst only one in ten was a widow. But as Webster (2000) points out, these figures suggest a much greater level of unpartnered parenting since the general trend towards co-habitation has resulted in many lone parents (male and female headed households) being defined as single or never married rather than divorced or separated for statistical purposes. More importantly, lone parent households are generally formed as a result of relationship breakdown, as distinct from the bereavement of a male partner. Further, women do not tend to have children when a male partner is not present. Ford *et al's* (1998) survey of lone parents confirms this trend.

Lone parents in England are one of the groups most vulnerable to poverty. According to data from 1996/97, the income levels of single parents was around all other households (£160 per week compared to £325 with the average for couples with children recorded at the even higher level of £410) (Webster *ibid)*. The problem appears to have been at its most acute between 1984 and 1995 where the gap between lone parents and two parent households with children seemed to be greatest (Shouls *et al,* 1999). As a result, lone parent families are more dependent on welfare benefits than couples with dependent children. As the Office for National Statistics reported in 1996, an alarming two thirds of all lone parents in England were claiming state benefits, compared to only 10 per cent of couples with children (ONS, 1998).

Moreover, an examination of the housing histories of lone parents in England suggests that they are five times more likely to have experienced housing exclusion in the last 10 years than other households; this applied to 30 per cent

of all lone parents. Around three quarters of these households had been allocated accommodation by their local authority (Webster, ibid).

Six out the seven respondents who took part in the semi-structured qualitative interviews for this thesis said that lone parents were the social group most likely to use their services. Frequently, domestic violence was cited as a factor in causing the homelessness problem. One social services manager interviewed for the thesis stressed that lone parents were her organisation's principal client group. This respondent, during the semi-structure ,interviews pointed to the absolute poverty experienced by her clients, a poverty which is further compounded by the financial burden of being homeless:

"The single mothers and their children are our main client group. I see come into hostels with nothing. Literally the clothes they're standing up in. The very fact that they are living in an unfamiliar environment, very often in another part of Leeds or another city adds to their financial burden because they have to get their children to school in another part of the city. They have to shop in local shops which are expensive. It is not cheap to live in a hostel – think about it".

Social Care Manager, female, Sure Start, social services.

One respondent made the distinction between the observation that paid employment was generally regarded as work yet childcare was not recognised as labour:

"There is no doubt in my mind that single mothers are the group most vulnerable to homelessness. They aren't able to work because of the children – how the heck can they work? Well, I mean paid work , as though taking care of children isn't work".

Hostel manager, female, voluntary sector refuge.

The lack of childcare was identified by one voluntary sector respondent as a principal obstacle in enabling women to engage paid employment:

"Childcare for the children (of lone parents) *would be an enormous help, to free them* (single parents) *up, so that they can do what they need to do."*

Local Services Manager, male, voluntary sector housing support organisation.

The extent to which poverty and homelessness are intergenerational was highlighted by three of the Leeds respondents interviewed:

"Many women have been there before so several times before and their children then later present as homeless. A lot of thought needs to go into it, if more provision is to be made, it's not just about more units, it's the whole package".

Social Care Manager, female, Sure Start, social services.

Two respondents highlighted the way in which poverty and homelessness were intergenerational and spoke of the way in which this cycle needs to be tackled by policy makers:

"Single mums are our main client group. There are some mums who we support who have been homeless numerous times; they may have been evicted because of rent arrears and of course, they carry those arrears with them to a new property. There is a cyclical pattern there and I think that challenges a lot of services in general. "

Local Services Manager, male, voluntary sector housing support organisation.

The same voluntary sector respondent went on to describe the way that homelessness may become the norm in some families:

“I think it’s rather sad that homelessness seems to be almost, in a way, inherited. We need to be giving people the skills to stay away from homelessness. I think you can "learn" to be homeless like you can learn to be anything. If it becomes part of your upbringing, it becomes part of your life that this is how you deal with a crisis situation, then you will keep on doing it.”

Local Services Manager, male, voluntary sector housing support organisation.

“It is a very complex issue but being a single mother makes you poor. Alleviating poverty amongst in mums will improve their life chances and in the long term, those of their children. Poverty happens over generations, doesn’t it? ….I find that young women, teenage parents, pregnant teenagers have experienced homelessness as children. We have to break that cycle".

Social Care Manager, female, Sure Start, Social Services.

One of the voluntary sector respondents interviewed spoke of the way in which hostel staff recognised the children of former female residents:

“In the short term, people are caught in the cycle of homelessness. There are families and family names that are well recognised to local services. There are families whose mothers have been through the statutory hostels so the hostel workers say, oh yeah, your mum was here”.

Hostel manager, female, voluntary sector refuge.

8.4 Household Type of Lone Parent in Ireland

In 2009, despite the unprecedented economic growth in Ireland, lone parents are the social group most likely to live in poverty in Ireland according to the leading voluntary sector agency which campaigns on behalf of those in poverty at the national level (Combat Poverty Agency, 2009).

Lone parent families in Ireland are significantly over represented in local authority housing in Ireland given the unaffordability of home ownership or shared ownership schemes. Given that social housing comprises a mere 9 per cent of total housing stock in Ireland, this presents a substantial challenge for Irish local government housing managers. Over a third of applicants on local authority waiting lists are lone parents, many of whom are forced to share with relatives on a short term basis (DELG, 2005). The principal route into social housing for lone parents is the assessment of need under the Housing Act 1988 but this remains an unenforceable right' for homeless groups in Ireland. One of the homelessness managers in Cork interviewed for the study highlighted the sharp increase in demand from women for hostel accommodation:

"There's a far greater number of women occupying the beds in the hostels now than there were a few years ago, young women in their early twenties. And then there seems to be a big jump to women in their late thirties, early forties. …This is single women and women with children, they (the hostels) *nearly seem to be full all the time".*

Outreach Worker, female, local authority.

On an optimistic level, tolerance towards single parent families including younger mothers appears to have increased in recent times in Ireland. But one respondent spoke graphically of the enduring influence of the Catholic Church:

"We're seeing a lot more young single mums now than we use to. I think people area lot more tolerant now but there are still prejudices against young mothers in Ireland. Contraception is still not really talked about if you're from a good Catholic family".

House Supervisor (Hostel), male, voluntary sector.

Another respondent spoke of the way in which *"that whole issue of young Catholic girls getting pregnant still causes problems– it's going to take a while for people to get really enlightened".*

House Supervisor (Hostel), male, voluntary sector.

Interestingly, one respondent pointed to the way in which the presence of children resulted in more rights for women under Ireland's social welfare system:

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"You do have a good chance of getting somewhere, especially if you're a single mum with kids, more than a single man – children do give you priority. But I wouldn't say women were discriminated against in the system, if anything, they're given more rights".

Outreach Worker, female, local authority.

But the provision of services for homeless women was not unconditional in the mind of one respondent, suggested that a social contract, albeit an informal one, existed between the resident and the NGO:

“If you’ve got children, you will get help, much more than you would do as a woman on your own. You won't be left without anywhere to go… we do a fairly good job, I think on the whole but we’d expect the resident to help us to help themselves as well."

House Supervisor, (Hostel), male, voluntary sector.

A number of Cork’s single parent hostels provided basic life skills support such as help with budgeting and cooking. One respondent believed that these skills mitigated the possibility of the child being taken into care:

“We have a number of places for younger women who would be at risk of becoming homeless if they weren’t taken in and looked after – they’re taught basic life skills like cooking and budgeting, that sort of thing. There’s another place for young women with children who may need parenting skills, to help stop the children being take away from them".

House Supervisor (Hostel), male, voluntary sector.

Respondents described the way in which their hostels projects provided vital support. But the lack of on going practical support was identified by one respondent, particularly childcare support:

“We’re seeing single mums more and more these days. Ireland’s a changing country…nowadays, women staying with us need day care for their children. Often there are appointments to be kept or if they want to go and view accommodation and that and if you have the children with you, it makes it very difficult. There’s a need to look at that more. It’s like you get help with one thing but they don’t follow it through”.

Senior Homelessness Manager, female, Cork City Council.

The isolation from a former partner's family and the implications for childcare was highlighted by one of the voluntary sector homelessness managers:

“Dragging children around you after you all day, going from agency to agency is really, really stressful. But who do you leave them with? We have mothers who don't and won't speak to their ex's parents so what else can they do but just take the children with them? It's not good for the mums or the children, it's no good for anyone. But no-one really takes that on board - that's a huge oversight".

House Supervisor (Hostel), male, voluntary sector.

8.5 Household Type of Lone Parent in France

Lone parent families in France are significantly more likely to live in poverty that other household types, including single women who do not have children. According to statistics from the INSEE (1995) women headed single parent households are almost twice as likely to be defined as living on the poverty line.

This has also been confirmed by research undertaken by FEANTSA (2000) which highlighted the fact that single parent households headed by a woman are over represented amongst homeless groups on a national level in France. This report also points to the precarious position women occupy in both the employment and housing markets in France, particularly following a relationship or martial breakdown. This becomes even more accentuated where there are dependent children in the household and childcare responsibilities negatively impact securing of full-time employment opportunities. The report also points to the fact that families with dependent children are in a stronger position to secure welfare state services in France.

The FEANTSA research published in 2000 clearly indicates that women and in particular, lone parent households are more likely to be homeless than their male counterparts as a result of poverty. Using statistics from the *Céntre d'Hérbergement at de Réinsertion Sociale* (Centre for Housing and Social Resettlement), an organisation which provides interim accommodation for all homeless groups in France, the report points to the over representation of lone parent female headed households in temporary housing and the increased vulnerability posed by poverty amongst this group:

This proposition is also reflected by the work of Marpsat (2000) who has noted that in the event of a relationship breakdown where there are dependent children, women are most likely to leave the accommodation leaving the male partner in residence. The subsequent formation of lone parent household more frequently experiences poverty and often homelessness. Data from the beginning of the 1990s clearly showed that more than twice as many lone

parent families, the majority of which are headed by a woman, occupy HLM accommodation than are in the population as a whole (15 per cent compared to 7 per cent (ANIL - National Agency for Information on Housing, 1990). Marpsat (2000) has provided some insightful data on the nature of homelessness between men and women, based on survey data from 1995 in Paris. In particular, the extent to which women seeking emergency accommodation are often accompanied by a child is highlighted here. Summary data adapted from this study is presented in Table 28:

Table 27: Homeless Men and Women Without Children in Paris, 1995.
(% Of People Recorded by ANIL As Homeless)

	Men (%)	Women (%)
No children:	59	34
Children not living with them	38	27
Children (all or some) living with them	2	37
Refusal/Non-Response	1	2
Total	100%	100%

Adapted from Marpsat (2000).

The introduction of single family benefit (*Allocation Parents Isolés* - API) in France in the mind 1970s did seek to ameliorate poverty amongst lone parents. Crucially, unlike in England or Ireland, the voluntary sector in France is increasingly engaged in supporting women to enter or re-enter the employment market. The principal emphasis of such retraining programmes tends to be on providing skills to take up employment in the service or public sectors where income has traditionally tended to be low but more secure than the private sector. This contrasts sharply with equivalent initiatives for male residents in hostels in France which appear to place clear emphasis on career opportunities within the private sector where salary levels are higher but jobs less secure (see DARES, 1999).

Respondents in Lyon interviewed for this study were less inclined to view women's homelessness as a distinct area of policy making and demonstrated a clear commitment to the promotion greater employment opportunities for ***both*** men and women in alleviating homelessness.

" Plus d'emploi est le meilleur façon d'aider les parents seuls. Si ils travaillent, on se sent mieux, on a de l'argent et on peut payer un logement".

"More employment is the best way to help lone parents. If we work we feel better in ourselves and we have enough money to pay for our own home".

Manager, female, NGO refuge for single women and women with children.

This view was echoed by one of the municipality respondents in Lyon who commented that:

« Si on peut resoudre le chomage d'aider les parents seuls, le reste suivra. Les conditions des gens sans travaille est toujours pire que ceux des gens qui travaillent".

"If we could solve the problem of unemployment amongst single parents, then the rest would follow. The living conditions of those out of work are always worse than those of people who work".

Manager (Male) of municipality refuge for women with children, Lyon.

"Nous essayons de nous intéresser à tout le monde. Il est certain que l'isolement (adultes vivant seul) et l'isolement parental (adultes élevant seuls des enfants) est une cause aggravante de difficultés pour beaucoup de gens. Mais certaines familles constituées ont de graves difficultés, en particulier lorsque les prestations sociales et familiales ne sont pas perçues pôur une raison ou une autre."

"We try to be interested in everyone. It is clear that isolation (adults living alone) and single parent families is a main and increasing reason that many people get into difficulty. However, many families have serious problems especially when family and social problems are not picked up for one reason or another".

Manager, male, NGO refuge for single women and women with children, Lyon.

Another voluntary sector respondent pointed to the need to review the housing system as a whole in meeting the needs of both men and women:

"Il faut examiner le systeme en total – on besoin plus du logement pour les les hommes et les femmes tout le deux".

"We must examine the system as a whole – we need housing for both men and women."

Manager, (Female) NGO refuge for women with children, Lyon.

8.6 Household Type of Lone Parent as Primary Trigger: A Comparative Summary

Lone parents as social group was seen as the group most vulnerable to homelessness by the professionals interviewed in all three countries despite the substantial differences in welfare typologies in England, Ireland and France and the way in which these typologies are enshrined in each country's homeless system. Lone parents are the group most reliant on social housing regardless of the different ways in which countries defined, managed and allocated their housing stock. Yet there appear to be no distinct strategic policy measures for lone parents in any of the countries selected for this analysis. Respondents in Lyon were least likely to consider than lone parenthood represented a risk to homelessness risk. The research undertaken for this thesis shows that four fifths (80 per cent) of those interviewed in Leeds considered that being a lone parent family was the primary trigger to homelessness, followed by 60 per cent

in Cork and 40 per cent in Lyon. The findings suggest that risk to homelessness in Lyon for lone parents is substantially less than in the other two cities. Further research is required to explore this finding in more detail. In particular, further research is needed to assess the role of social protection and other measures (welfare benefits; nature of women's employment; support from family and other networks) in Lyon in assisting women who become lone parents at the point of housing crisis.

CHAPTER NINE: CONCLUSIONS

9.1 Introduction

This thesis calls for step change in comparative housing research and asks explicitly for the inclusion of gender in subsequent analyses of welfare regimes. The thesis provides new insight for the comparative housing research community by presenting an original and innovative review of the relationship between dominant welfare typologies and women's homelessness. The study has broken new ground by recognising the value and limitations of theories of welfare regimes in assessing triggers to women's homelessness within the comparative housing context. The relationship between institutional risk, welfare typologies, homelessness systems and how these relate to women in three case study countries has been systematically and comprehensively reviewed. This thesis calls for a radical change in comparative housing analysis which places homeless women at the centre of research agenda.

The thesis proposes a new theoretical framework from which women's homelessness may be viewed within the comparative housing context. Until this thesis, no other research had critically reviewed the key triggers to homelessness for women in different European countries. Nor had any other work to date sought to critically assess the contribution of welfare regime theory in militating against the effects of homelessness in women in the comparative context. This thesis has filled that gap in the literature by demonstrating the way in which a systematic, cohesive and comprehensive review of the variation in risk between countries gives insight into the relevance of welfare typologies for homeless women. The study has shown welfare typologies are highly relevant when assessing women's risk to homelessness and how this housing exclusion is reflected in the form of spatial inequalities in all three countries to different degrees. The study has provided substantial evidence to support the proposition that lone parents are the litmus test of welfare typologies and are dispropotionately dependent on welfare measures, notably social housing provision, when faced with housing exclusion. The evidence in the thesis has shown that this remains the case despite the fact that the level of social housing

in each of the three countries varied. The research has also shown how homelessness services are delivered differently in each case study country and The right to housing for homeless women is interpreted differently. Yet no explicit policy measures exist which are focused on promoting housing equality for single parent families in any of the case study countries reviewed in this research.

This research has clearly demonstrated the relevance of the different discourses which exist around lone parents in England, Ireland and France. In the case of liberalist England, negative discourses have featured heavily in the wake of Thatcherite neoliberalist era largely focused on the way in which single parents households deviate from normative notions of the family. More recently, notions of worklessness and lone parents have pervaded political discourse at a time when this group need substantially more enhanced housing and social protection. In the case of France, the thesis has shown how the political commitment to social cohesion has been instrumental in empowering women with children through the promotion of dual earning households. The thesis has shown how the dominance of social cohesion model in France has supported a drive for gender equality by its emphasis on *la natalite* resulting in modified breadwinner model. As a result, single parent families in France have not been subject to the same damaging political discourse as in the English case study. In Ireland, the thesis shows how the discourse around lone parents was heavily influenced by the Irish government's commitment to protecting the family by the portrayal of motherhood as a career. The thesis has also shown the influence of the Catholic Church in shaping what is arguably a primitive welfare state relative to the other two countries. Motifs of Catholicism remain much in evidence today in the provision of Irish homelessness services. The influence of Catholicism was also in evidence in the French case study but it impact was moderated by welfare approaches which emphasised broad social cohesion measures.

To demonstrate the complexities of the theoretical relationships which impact on women's homelessness, the research has embodied high levels of

empiricism, explicit theoretical constructs and systematic comparative analysis in producing this feminist review in the three case study cities. The thesis has shown the importance of institutional risk for homeless women and has, again for the first time in comparative housing research, revealed the role of the voluntary sector, the family and other institutions, notably the Church, in shaping homelessness services as part of broader social protection measures in the three countries. Through the development of the homelessness system model, the study has made a significant contribution to existing knowledge by developing a robust framework within which the analysis was undertaken and showed how national uniqueness (thereby embracing particularism) may be integrated with universalism (thereby promoting universality of findings between countries). This approach has resulted in the collation and analysis of a highly rich *data corpus* from which this feminist review of dominant welfare typologies was undertaken.

9.2 Summary Of Central Thesis

This thesis calls for a radical change in comparative housing analysis which places homeless women at the centre of research agenda. The thesis fuses the three theoretical frameworks of welfare theory, comparative analysis and feminism and social policy to reveal the similarities and differences between the homelessness systems of England, Ireland and France and how these systems respond to homeless women. The thesis shows the clear value of using welfare typologies to ground comparative research but also shows how dominant welfare theory is inherently gender blind by its over reliance on the superficial dichotomy of the state and the market. The thesis affirms the agency of women but also provides evidence to show how welfare regime theory places an undue emphasis on paid employment to the detriment of women's unpaid labour as carers of children thereby reinforcing the gender stereotypes on which dominant welfare typologies depend. The thesis focused on four interrelated variables which had consistently being identified as causing and perpetuating homelessness amongst women in England. The four interrelated variables selected for the analysis were: domestic violence; relationship breakdown;

poverty and being a household type of a single parent family. The thesis reviewed the relative dominance of these triggers in Ireland and France and gathered primary data through the collation and analysis of qualitative and quantitative data sets. Analysis of primary data from homelessness professionals in each case study city revealed that whilst being a single parent family was most frequently identified by respondents overall as the primary trigger to homelessness in women in the three case study cities, this institutional risk was substantially reduced in Lyon. The research has also shown significant variations between countries in respect of the relative risk posed by poverty, domestic violence and relationship breakdown and the thesis relates these differences to key debates surrounding welfare regime theory and feminism. Lone parents were perceived by those interviewed as least vulnerable to homelessness in Lyon when compared to the two other countries. In the case of Cork, only 7 per cent of the homelessness professionals interviewed believed that poverty was most likely to cause homelessness amongst women. In Lyon, one fifth of the homelessness professionals interviewed held this view. But in Leeds, nearly two thirds (66 per cent) held this view. The importance of the social cohesion agenda and social citizenship and *la natalite* have been identified as key factors which feature in the French case study. Relationship breakdown was considered the least common trigger to homelessness by the homelessness professionals interviewed. The Cork respondents were least likely to make the connection between relationship breakdown and ensuing homelessness. The study revealed the importance of notions of the family in Ireland, the role of Catholicism epitomised by continued societal disapproval of divorce, abortion and the lack of an explicit approach to homelessness for those who suffer relationship breakdown.

The thesis has highlighted women's over reliance on state sponsored solutions to homelessness both at the point of housing crisis and in the longer term in all three case study cities, despite the variation in homelessness systems the nature and level of social housing stock and the relative ideological commitment

towards homeownership in each country. This reliance is manifested in the form of spatial inequalities in all three countries but to varying degrees.

9.3 Critical Review of Research Methodology

The study has shown the value of using regional cities of Leeds, Cork and Lyon as instrumental case studies. The overall research approach allowed for a feminist account of why similarities and differences existed between countries thereby allowing for an explanation for given phenomenon between countries. The study has shown how a social constructionist epistemology has been deployed to good effect in a comparative housing analysis for specific groups such as women. The study has reclaimed, restructured and reviewed a research domain where the discourse surrounding women's homelessness was largely absent. The study has also demonstrated how feminist research techniques may be effectively used to assess and review previously under researched phenomenon in the comparative context. The peer review exercise which took place at the beginning of the project shows the intrinsic value of involving peers in the construction of the research methodology. Grounded theory also played a pivotal role in the development of the research methodology initially by informing the development of the homelessness system model then by providing the discipline of structure for the primary data collation and analysis. The quantitative data set alone resulted in the production of just under seven hundred variables using the responses given by the homelessness professionals in each country. When analysed with the qualitative findings, the resulting data set provided a unique insight into the reasons for women's homelessness in the three case study cities. Native French speakers were used to ensure that primary data opportunities were maximised in respect of the Lyon case study and this provide the unique opportunity to speak to French homelessness professionals about their experiences.

As with any study, the research methodology had its limitations. This was a private academic study and therefore financial resources were limited. First of all, whilst every effort was made to assemble and analyse data of equal quantity

and quality from all three case study cities, significantly more data was inevitably generated for the Leeds case study. The Leeds qualitative *data corpus* was subsequently abridged to ensure it would not eclipse the data from Cork and Lyon. The questionnaire was piloted in Leeds (see section 2.1) but a further pilot of the questionnaire in Lyon may have highlighted some issues which would have made the questionnaire more accessible and relevant to the French respondents. More detailed interviews could have been carried out with the homelessness professionals in Lyon reflecting the epistemological characteristics highlighted by Broady (2003) such as a more considered review of the distinct research philosophies which influence sociological research in France. Three native French research assistants and one English student with excellent French speaking skills were used to conduct the French interviews. The input of the French speakers proved vital in the collation and analysis of the French data set. However, inevitably there were variations in levels of expertise amongst the research assistant group which may have influenced the interview process itself, the way in which the data was elicited from respondents, how the data was recorded and then subsequently analysed by the author of this thesis. Furthermore, none of the research assistants were trained social scientists. One of the assistants was completing a university certificate in neighbourhood renewal. Another was studying for a university certificate in environmental health and the third assistant completing a management studies degree. The use of one interviewer would facilitate further consistency across the collation and analysis of the French *data corpus*. Although the questionnaires were very detailed, sample sizes were relatively small given that fifteen questionnaires were completed by homelessness professionals in each city. Further research could take the form of a more far reaching regional analysis to ensure more comprehensive collation and analysis of responses. Fourthly, a focus group comprising homelessness professionals from the three case study cities would potentially have gathered further rich data by providing a forum in which research participants could compare and contrast their organisations' responses to homelessness women. Respondents in one country could also have been asked to comment on the homelessness system in place in the other two

countries and review the benefits and limitations of transferability of this system to their own professional context. Finally and most importantly, a decision was taken early in the study to critically review responses from homeless professionals for ethical reasons, particularly the risk of causing further trauma to this vulnerable group by asking for clarification on key terms of reference. This was particularly relevant in the French context but equally applicable to women in Cork and Leeds. This decision inevitably meant that the voices of homeless women themselves were absent from the analysis. Further research on this topic would seek to engage homeless women themselves in assessing the relative risk posed by the four variables thereby adding a further dimension to what is already and highly rich, innovative and progressive research study.

9. 4 THEME 1: WELFARE REGIMES AS THEORETICAL CONSTRUCTS: A FEMINIST CRITICAL REVIEW.

Sub- theme A: Critical assessment of the work of Esping-Andersen and the 'Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism'; review of alterative approaches to housing welfare from a feminist perspective; link between welfare regimes and homelessness.

This research has provided a unique insight into the relevance of theories of welfare regimes for comparative studies of women's homelessness. The thesis calls for step change in comparative housing studies and demonstrates how the fusion between welfare theory, comparative analysis and feminism and social policy allows for a systematic and robust review of women's homelessness in different countries. The thesis has demonstrated the value of using homelessness systems within the analytical framework and shows the merits of using the instrumental case study approach in comparative housing analysis.

Welfare regimes typologies, and in particular the work of Esping Andersen, occupy a disproportionate sense of importance in housing studies. This thesis initially acknowledged the value of welfare regime theory but then subverted the typology by highlighting the gross inadequacies of the framework in respect of homeless women in the three case study countries of England, Ireland and

France from a feminist perspective. The broad classifications of liberalist (Leeds – England) and conservative corporatist (Cork – Ireland and Lyon – France) have added legitimacy to this thematic analysis of women and homelessness and helped to facilitate the identification and analysis of similarities and differences in women's homelessness in the three case study cities. But the study has clearly demonstrated that Esping-Andersen's welfare regime typology is fundamentally gender blind, principally because it places undue emphasis on paid employment to the detriment of the free labour, namely childcare, provided by women. Such free labour is as yet unrecognised within welfare regime theory given dominant typologies frequently support the economic activities of men. Moreover, there is no recognition within welfare regime theory of the welfare benefit payments such as maternity allowance and child benefit which are given to full time mothers.

Reference to unpaid labour provided by women holds a dual significance for comparative evaluations of women and homelessness. First of all, it recognises the value of unpaid labour in welfare regimes in supporting the male breadwinner model and therefore it demonstrates the way in which full time parenthood sustains conventional notions of the family. In this respect, welfare regime typologies run the risk of reinforcing gender differences and perpetuating stereotypical family roles such as the male breadwinner model in England. The capacity of welfare regimes to provide an explanatory framework in respect of women's homelessness is therefore limited. The model of the male breadwinner is depicted as strong in the Republic of Ireland (conservative corporate) but modified in France (also depicted as conservative corporate but with differing welfare approaches). England has a fragile male breadwinner regime given the prominence of women in paid employment. The thesis has shown the way in which these models are relevant to lone parents and single women in securing accommodation, notably at the point of housing crisis.

Secondly, the omission of paid employment is significant across all welfare regime typologies but for different reasons. Welfare regimes which contain high

levels of unemployment and poverty, such as in the case of England, are most likely to result in increased levels of homelessness amongst both men and women. This further demonstrates the importance of modifying theoretical constructs of welfare regimes so that they recognise unpaid labour of women, either explicitly through the direct payment of remuneration or through the provision of additional child benefit and maternity benefits. Within the context of England's liberalist welfare regime, indicators of labour market engagement are conventionally viewed as crucial in assessing women's access to housing, especially in countries where the housing system is largely market driven (Ireland, England and, to a lesser extent, France) But this emphasis is misguided as it obscures the need to place the value unpaid labour, maternity and paternity allowances and childcare benefits at the centre of the analyses of welfare protection. Liberalist regimes, such as in the Leeds case study which favour market based solutions to housing need, negatively impact on groups such as single parents who need to secure accommodation at the point of housing crisis but find that the options presented by the private sector (homeownership and private renting) are limited. Moreover, access to social housing in England's liberalist regimes, as demonstrated by the evidence from the Leeds case study, are frequently determined by the relative priority afforded by the statutory homelessness route. The research has shown that homelessness professionals in Leeds see the statutory homelessness route as potentially both enabling and disabling for women and professionals alike- enabling as it provides an explicit route to housing but disabling if it is viewed as the only route to successful resettlement.

Employment is conceptualised only in terms of paid labour in welfare regimes thereby excluding unpaid work frequently carried out by women, particularly caring for dependent children or relatives. Yet this thesis has demonstrated the relationship between social protection (maternity benefits, childcare facilities and family benefits notably child benefit) and institutional risk at the national state level within the comparative context of women's homelessness. The extent to which women and in particular lone parents have the right to choose to

undertake paid work could be seen as representing a further criterion alongside decommodification. Therefore measures of social protection such as those afforded by maternity benefits, childcare facilities and family benefits (including child benefit) could legitimately be added to Esping-Andersen's analysis.

The research for this thesis has also revealed further limitations to Esping-Andersen's broad typology by comparing women's homelessness in two countries, Ireland and France, which were assigned the same welfare identity of conservative corporatism. In the case of Ireland, the thesis shows the legitimacy of revising Esping-Andersen's typology from conservative corporatism to ***neoconservative, liberalist underpinned by the social partnership model.*** In respect of France, the research shows how the welfare typology may be revised to ***neoconservative, liberalist underpinned by the social cohesion model.*** The thesis does not propose a revision to the English typology of liberalism.

9.5 THEME 2: HOUSING RIGHTS & NOTIONS OF CITIZENSHIP: FEMINIST ANALYSIS

Sub - theme B: Critical review of key notions relevant to housing 'rights' and citizenship; relevance to women within the contemporary housing context.

Esping -Andersen's welfare theory is largely devoid of references to resources which place a premium on power or more pointedly, lack of power within regimes where the market is deemed supreme. But the thesis has effectively shown how critical debates within feminist and social policy focused on the discourse of power are crucial in highlighting inequalities epitomised by patriarchy. To address this substantial deficit with Esping-Andersen's typology, this thesis has demonstrated the value of enshrining notions of *citizenship in* welfare regime theory*,* as exemplified by the extent to which an enforceable right to housing for homeless women exists in England, Ireland and France. The thesis has linked this with key debates on feminism and social policy. The

research has shown the importance of including an assessment of public investment in citizenship rights in each country based on the whether an enforceable right to housing exists for homeless women at the nation state level. An enforceable right to housing creates administrative systems which both seek to alleviate homelessness amongst women but also ensure that rigorous statistics are collated and analysed which demonstrate the level and nature of homelessness. Such statistics will provide the much need evidence which acts as a catalyst for policy change. In the case of England, lone parents have consistently emerged as a group over represented in both homelessness applications and acceptances. Domestic violence has also been frequently a cited reason for homelessness in the English government's own statistics. Data such as this is vital in contributing to the development of further social policy measures to protect homeless women. In the absence of an enforceable right to housing in Ireland and France (although note the implementation of the *Loi DALO* in France in December 2008 which is in effect the country's first enforceable right to housing), the voluntary sector plays a key role in meeting the housing, care and support needs of homelessness women. But the research for the thesis has shown that influence of both statutory health services and Catholicism have been disproportionately influential in determining the direction of voluntary sector services, most obviously in Ireland. On the one hand, the morality of Catholicism may promote supportive family networks. On the other, this emphasis may precisely be the force which negatively impacts on women's choices within the welfare system when faced with homelessness. The historical link in Ireland between homelessness and health, introduced through legislation in the 1950s, remains a powerful influence in shaping responses of homelessness services and the research evidence base which underpins the continued promotion of services in this form. This has led to a tendency to problematise homelessness amongst women as a pathology, leading to an undue and misguided emphasis on medical models of homelessness in policy solutions.

France shares Ireland's welfare regime identity of conservative corporatism according to Esping-Andersen's typology and there are some broad similarities

between the two countries. Both France and Ireland have sought to embed homelessness as part of other broader social protection measures. In France, legislation more in keeping with France's social cohesion agenda has acted as a prelude to discrete homelessness legislation (the *Loi Besson* in 1990 which was not enforceable and more recently the *Loi DALO* which is intended to be enforceable). Yet the two countries are discernibly different as regards social protection measures for homeless women. The notion of *la natalité* (motherhood) was central the implementation of social protection measures designed to support women with children but this measure was largely to support social cohesion rather than promote equality. This distinguishes France's welfare approach from that in England and Ireland. In addition, Ireland has not sought to introduce an equivalent, enforceable right and homelessness policies are enmeshed with health board responsibilities, measures designed to combat poverty. A more strategic agenda to tackle both domestic violence and homelessness has emerged in the last five years in Ireland but there has been negligible impact on the provision of further refuges and other emergency accommodation for women.

The advent of the *Loi DALO* marks a substantial shift in the citizenship agenda in France. With this shift comes a new will to promote the neoliberalist ideal of freedom rights in the way that King (2003) suggested. But the French case study shows how the implementation of a rights discourse is driven by the social contract. There has been no equivalent shift in Irish thinking towards a rights agenda *per se*. Given that the *Loi DALO* has recently been implemented in France, it represents the first tier of citizenship in Stewart's (1995) analysis of formal citizenship for lone parents with a female head of household. Reflections on Stewart's proposition (1995) that independent citizenship may be more apparent following effective implementation of the *Loi DALO* are interesting here. Might there be a renewed vigour for the French model of social citizenship? If so, will this social citizenship extend to the voluntary sector in the event of homelessness? Might the new homeless legislation generate an awakening of research on housing inequalities on the grounds of gender in France as was the case in England in the 1980s and early 1990s?

In Ireland, the social partnership model is highly significant in determining the relative emphasis of voluntary sector priorities in addressing homelessness amongst women. This model, in time, may moderate the influence of health and religious institutions, namely Catholicism, on homelessness services for women. In France, the voluntary sector also provides the majority of front line services for homeless women and is therefore a key consideration when reviewing monitoring of the *Loi DALO* alongside existing social cohesion measures designed to promote *la natalité* and *la solidarité.* The influence of Catholicism in voluntary sector services is less in evidence in France. But lone parents may well bear the brunt of demonisation within political discourse in France as liberalist values become more prominent and housing becomes more scarce. Evidence from the English case study has clearly shown this phenomenon.

The liberalist regime has proven to be double edged sword for homeless women in England. It is the only country to have established dedicated legislation for homeless groups (although note implementation of the *Loi DALO* in France in 2008). The Marshallian vision of citizenship as being *"a status bestowed on those who are full members of a community'"* (Marshall, 1950) has not been realised in respect of homeless women in the English context. The research evidence has shown that although lone parents are the group most likely to apply as homeless under the legislation, they are also one of the groups most likely to bear the brunt of disparaging political discourse, a discourse that becomes even more inflammatory when there is a shortage of housing. During Thatcher's neoliberalist reign, the commodification of social housing negatively impacted on women and in particular on lone parents given the much documented limitations of the market in providing housing solutions for groups who were already suffering from social exclusion. But although the presence of children may engage welfare machinery through the homelessness route, the shortage of social housing means that spatial inequalities persist today given the over representation of single parents with a female head of household who occupy social housing allocated through the homeless route.

The implementation of homelessness legislation accords closely with Stewart's 1995 analysis which suggests that there are two intrinsically paradoxical, components associated with citizenship. Formal citizenship refers to structured elements of systems and bureaucracies which are seemingly predetermined. Independent citizenship emphasises the autonomy of the individual who may have to act outside the interests of these systems. This argument is important for this thesis as it demonstrates the way in which homelessness systems may emerge and become sustained by the dominant welfare regime of a given country. At the same time, policy change may be activated by individuals and social policy groups. The vociferous work of the voluntary homelessness sector in the 1960s and 1970s at the height of the feminist movement resulted in the development of Women's Aid and subsequent refuge network in England are one such example. It is likely that the role of the voluntary sector will develop further in France as a response to the *Loi DALO*.

Homelessness legislation in the English context also accords closely with the first tier of formal citizenship as characterised by Delanty (2000) given that it is an enforceable right with an appeals procedure. Delanty's view that citizenship and identity are inextricably liked has also been borne out by the research. The English homeless professionals interviewed for this thesis pointed to the way in which the prescriptive legislation now dominated as the *only* route for women in housing need to the detriment of other strategic, personal or less bureaucratic solutions. The identity of a homeless woman therefore run the risk of being submerged by the very process designed to provide choice. In this respect, the research demonstrates the gross limitations of depending on liberal feminist approaches such as those which dominate in England.

Entitlement to housing under homelessness provisions are substantially underdeveloped in the Republic of Ireland where there is no enforceable right to housing nor is there any real political appetite to introduce such a right. Existing legislation (Housing Act 1988) was viewed by the homelessness professionals interviewed for this thesis as largely ineffectual. More importantly, the evidence

suggests that the lack of an enforceable right has allowed for professional apathy to prevail given that the provision of minimal homelessness support for women is the norm. The voluntary homelessness sector is also much less vocal in the Republic of Ireland than in England. A key factor here is the extent to which feminist debates in the 1960s and 1970s in Ireland focused on women's issues such as contraception and abortion to the detriment of other issues, namely domestic violence and homelessness. This emphasis distinguishes Ireland from the other two countries. This finding holds even further significance given that France is also a predominantly Catholic country. However, the influence of the Catholic orthodoxy appears not to have impacted on France's welfare typology in the same way as in the Ireland case study.

The minimal level of Marshallian citizenship rights have yet to be attained in respect of homeless women in Ireland. The impact of the Celtic Tiger economy may have promoted free market liberalism but this liberalism has not extended in the form of a housing rights agenda. Given the dominance of European policy processes underpinning social protection measures and Ireland's deference to European policy making processes, Lewis' (2001) view that a paradigm shift is required to reflect the emerging importance of European legislative change balanced alongside and women's increasing presence in labour markets with their principal role as carers holds is particularly relevance to the Irish context. In this regard, a substantial investment in citizenship rights is required in the Republic to readdress the balance.

9.6 THEME 3 HOMELESSNESS SYSTEMS IN ENGLAND, IRELAND AND FRANCE: RELEVANCE TO GENDER

Sub theme C: Definitions of homelessness used in England, Ireland and France; relevance to theories of welfare regimes and gender.

Homelessness is defined in very different ways in the three case study countries and this variation is found both in the legislation (where it exists) and definitions adopted by the voluntary sector. The definition in England adopted by the voluntary sector encompasses the hidden homeless, those people who

are rough sleepers and those in hostels and other short term accommodation. Ireland has deferred to a European approach to defining homelessness known as ETHOS which emphasises rooflessness, "houselessness" (this includes victims of domestic violence and insecure tenancies) and those living in "inadequate housing" which includes unfit and substandard accommodation). But France has not yet recognised the importance of insecurity of tenure or hidden homelessness in the definition deployed by INSEE, INED and other organisations in the research community. Rather, definitions remain primarily focused on rooflessness.

Sub theme D: Role of dedicated housing legislation in promoting rights for homeless women; relevance to welfare regimes critically reviewed from a gender perspective.

The research findings show that England's dedicated homelessness legislation has meant that victims of domestic violence, women who are pregnant and lone parents are afforded priority housing (subject to not being found intentionally homeless) and other forms social protection. This has resulted in the collation and analysis of increasingly robust data which in turn has informed key academic and government debates on the issue. But the highly prescriptive nature of the legislation has also meant that the homeless route is frequently viewed by homelessness professionals as the only way of rehousing homeless women and their children who fulfil the priority need criteria to the detriment of the preventative agenda. The research carried out for the thesis has shown how the legislation has inhibited creative and lateral thinking amongst homelessness professionals in Leeds. England's experience may well provide some insight to French policy makers and *vice versa*. Evidence from the English case study alerts us to the dangers of fettered thinking and prescriptive policy making. It also demonstrates how legislative intentions, notably the prevention of homelessness duty, become stifled by immediate pressures on local authorities to meet the minimum statutory requirement. Without adequate resources in common with clear operational and strategic direction, there is a danger that the minimal compliance identified by English commentators may also happen in

France. But the implementation of the homelessness right in France is likely to generate further statistics on women's homelessness and fuel feminist debate as it has done in England. Ireland has no immediate intention of implementing a dedicated right to housing for the homeless nor does there appear to be the political appetite to drive forward such a right. The adoption of the more European model places Ireland out of kilter with England and France. Moreover, given the dominance of health boards already within homelessness policies in Ireland, any statutory duty may take the form of prioritising a medical model of homeless rather than one where housing features first and foremost.

Sub theme E: Broad perceptions of nature and extent of homelessness by sector; differences between men and women's homelessness; triggers to homelessness for both men and women and degrees of risk; identification of issues relevant to women.

The research has demonstrated how women's engagement within national homelessness systems are affected by variables which differ to those of men. Women are disproportionately more vulnerable to homelessness than men in the event of being in poverty, experiencing domestic violence and/or relationship breakdown and being a household type of lone parent. This is the case in England, Ireland and France regardless of the dominant welfare regime in each country. Crucially, even the explicit right to housing as a homelessness household (single parent family with female head of household and/or a victim of domestic violence) does not appear to significantly mitigate this institutional risk.

Sub theme F: Overall approach to homelessness policies, including prevention, applied by statutory (municipal) and voluntary (non-government; not for profit sector) England; Ireland and France; critical review of the extent to which these services are gender sensitive.

The research has shown the potential of dominant policy approaches in shaping how professionals viewed policy solutions. In the case of England, local housing authorities were the lead agency and had developed highly strategic and well monitored procedures with other statutory agencies, notably social services and

health but also education. Local housing authorities were direct providers of emergency accommodation for women. Collaborative relationships with the voluntary sector were also firmly in place with the role of Women's Aid as specialist accommodation providers well embedded in professional homelessness practice. The Leeds respondents valued these measures but were also healthily sceptical as regards how effective they were in addressing homelessness amongst women. In Ireland, health boards were the lead statutory agency working alongside local authorities in providing longer term accommodation and worked alongside housing authorities to assist homelessness women. The voluntary sector in Cork was dominated by Catholic hostel groups. The Cork respondents more frequently pointed to the need to modify individual behaviour using the health agenda as a primary driver, notably by pointing to the need to tackle drug and alcohol abuse, when addressing homelessness amongst women rather calling for broader welfare reform. This poses some interesting and controversial questions as regards the tendency to problematise and pathologise homelessness amongst women as an individual problem which may be addressed largely by medical intervention rather than an institutional, welfare deficit. The emergence of the social partnership model in Ireland accentuates this issue by marginalising the welfare state's accountability for homelessness measures.

In the case of France, the voluntary sector also played a pivotal role in alleviating homelessness and little accommodation was provided directly by the municipality. The preventative agenda was negligible but the role of the Catholic hostel providers much more marginal than in Ireland. With the advent of the *Loi DALO,* it seems probable that the voluntary sector will lead in providing accommodation.

Sub theme G: Policies of other statutory organisations concerned with the alleviation and prevention of homelessness, particularly policies regarding direct access accommodation, housing advice and resettlement

procedures; this may include the social services, education and health authorities (and equivalent in each country).

Out of the three case study countries, England had the most developed homelessness prevention measures in place. England was the only country to have an explicit homelessness prevention agenda for women and this was enshrined in dedicated legislation (Homelessness Act 2002). Primary data analysis shows that whilst the homelessness professionals in Leeds were in support of the preventative strategies for homeless women, they also remained sceptical about their ability to full maximise the potential of preventative opportunities. Inadequate funding alongside lack of training on housing rights issues to adequately were identified as obstacles to the effective implementation of the preventative agenda. Respondents in Leeds also expressed concern about what the perceived as the zealous promotion of sanctuary schemes designed to enable women's experiencing domestic violence to remain in residence of their home rather than going through the homelessness route. Given the dominance of the voluntary sector in providing accommodation for homeless women in both Ireland and France, it is likely that the NGO sector will play a key role in this regard. The implementation of the *Loi DALO* in France suggests a move towards a more rights based system but given the dominance of the social cohesion agenda, the prospect of an explicit preventative duty remains remote. In Ireland, it is likely that any move towards homelessness prevention would be led by health and housing authorities in assessing levels of need for homeless women and that these needs would continue to be met by the voluntary sector under Ireland's social partnership model. But the prospect of introducing an enforceable right to housing in the foreseeable future seems very remote.

Sub theme H: Policies of voluntary organisations or non-government organisations which provide housing and other support services for homeless women; include advice and advocacy agencies as well as direct accommodation providers.

Evidence from the Leeds case study shows the variety of organisations involved in the provision of housing and other support services for homeless women. These services ranged from emergency refuges and other hostels to specialist support and resettlement services. Respondents reported that lack of training in housing rights and inadequate funding restricted their ability to provide exemplary services. They also highlighted the importance of setting long term strategic direction for their organisations. By contrast, the Catholic Church dominated voluntary sector service delivery and accommodation was limited. In Lyon, the Church was involved in the delivery of some voluntary sector services but this was limited.

Sub theme I: Assessment of degree of risk posed in the England, Ireland and France posed by the variables of domestic violence; relationship breakdown; poverty and being a lone parent household.

Data from homelessness professionals in the three case study countries clearly shows that being a lone parent with a female head of household was perceived as being the factor most likely to cause women to be homeless. Four fifths (80 per cent) of those interviewed in Leeds said that this was a key trigger to homelessness, followed by 60 per cent in Cork and 40 per cent in Lyon. This social group was seen as the group most vulnerable to homelessness by the professionals interviewed despite the substantial differences in welfare typologies between England, Ireland and France and the way in which these typologies are enshrined in each country's homeless system. Yet there are no distinct strategic policy measures for single parent families in any of the countries selected for this analysis.

Evidence from the French city of Lyon suggests that poverty is perceived as much less critical is causing homelessness amongst men and women than in Cork or Leeds. In Lyon, just 67 held this view compared to 87 per cent in Cork and 93 per cent in Leeds. But in the case of just women, Cork respondents were least likely to cite poverty as a reason for homelessness for women (just 7 per cent compared to 27 per cent in Lyon an 60 per cent in Leeds). One

explanation for this may be the impact of Ireland's anti-poverty strategy on groups.

The research evidence shows that women's homelessness remains a private matter in all three countries. The expert testimonies from the homelessness professionals suggest that women tend to use private rather than public solutions to housing exclusion, particularly during the first stages of homelessness. This remains the case in England where substantial public and voluntary sector resources exist which are designed to mitigate women's homelessness. In the case of Cork and Lyon, the voluntary sector emerged as a dominant provider of services for homeless women in both countries, as there is no statutory right to housing for homeless groups, including women. In Ireland, the influence of the Catholic Church in the management of voluntary sector homelessness provision was more evident than in France. The dominance of the Catholic Church in hostel service provision raises significant issues particularly for married women who may require homelessness assistance following a marital separation or relationship breakdown with a partner. It also prompts key issues for unmarried mothers, particularly teenage mothers who have, to date, escaped demonisation within political discourse in Ireland.

9.7 THEME 4: FURTHER REFINEMENT OF THE THEORETICAL MODEL OF WELFARE REGIMES: FEMINIST REVIEW BASED ON COMPARATIVE STUDY OF HOMELESS WOMEN IN LEEDS, CORK AND LYON.

Sub theme J: Overall evaluation of welfare approaches in alleviation and prevention of homelessness amongst women where housing exclusion is caused by the four primary triggers of domestic violence; relationship breakdown; poverty and being the household type of lone parent; a review of the extent to which relative dominant triggers reflect broad approaches to gender and specifically women as consumers of homelessness services.

The research has clearly shown how welfare regime typologies play a key a role in perpetuating stereotypical gender roles, specifically that of the male breadwinner. In England, over representation of male breadwinner model reflected in the formation of the welfare state in England after Second World War has played a role in reinforcing gender stereotypes. When viewed through the feminist lens, welfare typologies assume an entirely new identity with the focus turning to forms of social protection as indicators of a country's welfare regime. In respect of welfare benefits, these indicators should be revised to include evaluations of maternity benefits, child/family welfare benefits and childcare facilities. The way in which the conceptualisation of labour merely as paid employment limits the discussion on the value of unpaid labour provided by women, particularly single parent mothers, in caring for young children. Women are also over represented in part-time, poorly paid employment. Therefore the extent to which women and in particular lone parents have the right to choose to undertake paid work could be seen as representing a further criterion alongside decommodification. The research has shown, in the case of Ireland, the promotion of conventional role of the family by Irish central government serves to reinforce the morality of the Catholic Church through welfare policy, most obviously through the work of the voluntary homeless sector. The power of the Catholic Church is perhaps best epitomised by the continued outlawing of contraception and abortion despite increasing pressure on the Catholic hierarchy to adopt a more moderate approach. The preservation of the sanctity of marriage still features heavily in welfare policy discourse given that divorce only made permissible in 1997. This also serves to further marginalise normative notions of the family run the risk of subverting the male breadwinner model. Single parent families are one such group. The emergence of the social partnership model during the 1990s has meant a more enhanced role for the voluntary sector where Catholic Church leads in hostel provision in Ireland. This also serves to minimise the role of local housing authorities as enforcers of homelessness rights for homelessness women by transferring the policy gaze to the voluntary sector. The evidence from France shows that longstanding support for *la natalité* stresses traditional role and composition of the family but

also a culture of part-time paid employment for mothers. Critically, women tended to occupy more secure jobs in France than in the other two countries thereby enabling shielding them from the ill housing effects on relationship breakdown and domestic violence. The study showed how this was linked to France's commitment to common action, mutual responsibility and shared institutional risk are aimed at maintaining social cohesion rather than primarily addressing inequalities.

What was clear from the research findings was that the presence of children, in the minds of the research respondents, was a passport to welfare services. In all three cities, three presence of children may promote further rights to social protection but inevitably this leads to a concentration of more residualised households, such as lone parents, in state sponsored or voluntary sector homelessness projects. But this varied between case study cities. In liberalist Leeds and conservative corporatist Cork, there was a general recognition that children automatically increased rights to homeless and related services. But in Lyon, respondents spoke more frequently of the need to redistribute existing resources equally between *all* family members pointing to the enduring legacy of *liberté, égalité, fraternité*. The relationship between a quest for equity within the home and possible links to this legacy is worthy of further research.

Sub theme K: Review of overall theoretical framework to include the relative risk to homelessness posed by the interrelated variables of domestic violence; relationship breakdown; poverty and being a household type of lone parents. Based on overall assessment of primary and secondary research evidence.

The thesis has also shown that Esping-Andersen's macro welfare typology is too descriptive as well as gender blind and therefore does not address the notion institutional risk between countries when assessed within the comparative context of women's homelessness. The thesis has demonstrated how homelessness systems represent a more appropriate, conceptual framework for analysing such risk by allowing for a review of the institutions

which cause and perpetuate homelessness in women at the nation state level. The approach adopted in the thesis has allowed for a detailed and systematic review of the relative risk to homelessness posed by the interrelated variables of domestic violence; relationship breakdown; poverty and being a household type of lone parents in the three case study countries using primary and secondary data evidence. In the study, lone parent households have been identified as the group most vulnerable to homelessness in the three countries regardless of the prevailing welfare regime, the collective welfare approach and the dominance of social housing.

9.8 Further Research

No other form of social exclusion is as damaging as homelessness. Yet in the England, Ireland and France, thousands of women, frequently accompanied by their children with no support from a partner or even at times family or friends, are forced to seek protection from the welfare state to provide the most basic of human rights, a roof over one's head. The research contained in this thesis lays down a marker for the housing research community and those agencies who deal with women's homelessness at the national level and in the comparative context. This thesis calls for a radical change in dominant welfare regime theory to address the needs of women who experience housing exclusion at the European level. The study clearly exposes the short comings of welfare protection measures in all three of the countries reviewed in this analysis by demonstrating how the socioeconomic position of women become manifested in the form of over representation of single parents particularly as consumers of homelessness services ultimately resulting in clear spatial inequalities in al three countries. This is the case regardless of the prevailing welfare typology of each individual country although lone parents in Lyon appear less vulnerable to this institutional risk. The gender blind nature of welfare regimes has been clearly exposed and the value of using comparative housing analysis as a mechanism for critically reviewing women's institutional risk to homelessness clearly demonstrated. This thesis has shown the fundamental value of synthesising the three theoretical strands of welfare regimes; feminism and social policy and comparative housing analysis when reviewing women's homelessness, an approach which to date has not been used in comparative housing analysis. In addition to the key findings summarised in section 9.2, five key themes have emerged for future research.

1. Lone parents emerged as the group most vulnerable to homelessness in the minds of those interviewed in all three case study cities (section 8.2). But this risk was less in evidence in Lyon. Further research is required to assess the specific characteristics of the French welfare system which negates against homelessness in lone parent families. It is likely that welfare benefits alongside

a more flexible housing system are contributory factors which mitigate homelessness. The role of the private rented sector in supporting women who are homeless or threatened with homelessness is worth further scrutiny. Such research could focus initially in France then Ireland and England. Further attention could also be given to the epistemological differences between countries to ensure that data collation and analysis opportunities were maximised (see section 9.3).

2. The typology of homelessness systems which was piloted in the study may now be transferred to other countries in undertaking additional research on women's homelessness within the comparative housing context. This would facilitate the development of substantial resources on homelessness processes, policies and procedures directly relevant to homeless women, an area which remains under researched at the international level (see 2.11).

3. A further stage of the research could take the form of an analysis of women's homelessness in the same three case study countries but using the testimonies of the women themselves living in emergency refuge or other hostel accommodation. Such an analysis could use welfare regime theory to anchor the critique. But the voices of homelessness women themselves is likely to further support a feminist review of Esping - Andersen's typology by accentuating the role of the voluntary sector in supporting homelessness women and the importance of paid employment in securing accommodation. Further evidence of the misguided emphasis on paid labour within welfare theory discourse as distinct to unpaid labour provided by women, notably lone parents, would highlight the enduring relevance of the male breadwinner model.

4. Further research is required to explore why the Cork respondents were least likely to consider poverty a trigger to homelessness (section 3.13). In particular, perceptions of the policy links between Ireland's anti-poverty strategy, mortgage arrears and the prevention of homelessness is worthy of further scrutiny. At the institutional level, future research could also look at the role of key institutions such as family and religious institutions (specifically the perceived sanctity of

marriage in Ireland and the fact that abortion remains unlawful) which may protect or are perceived to protect against homelessness in women. Such an analysis could also assess the ways in which women are cushioned by the financial ill effects of a marital or relationship breakdown in Ireland, relative to the other two countries.

5. The research findings show was that the presence of children, in the minds of the research respondents, was viewed as a passport to welfare services (section 9.7). In all three cities, children were perceived to promote further rights to social protection but inevitably this leads to a concentration of more residualised households, such as lone parents, in state sponsored or voluntary sector homelessness projects given that families with children are afforded priority for social housing in the three countries albeit to varying degrees and in different ways. In liberalist Leeds and conservative corporatist Cork, there was a general recognition amongst interviewees that children automatically increased rights to homeless and related services. But in Lyon, respondents spoke more frequently of the need to redistribute existing resources equally between *all* family members pointing to the enduring legacy of *liberté, égalité, fraternité* manifested through social cohesion measures. The extent to which the presence of children is perceived to meet explicit social cohesion measures or equality objectives is therefore worthy of further research in the three case study countries.

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APPENDIX A: TOPIC GUIDE FOR SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS WITH ACADEMICS FROM EACH CASE STUDY COUNTRY

THEME	ISSUES FOR EVALUATION RELEVANT TO HOMELESS WOMEN	Interview Schedule
Theme 1: Triggers to homelessness in women; institutional.	Identification of triggers which cause homelessness amongst both men and women. Any specific triggers which effect women and women. Relationship between visible manifestations of homelessness and provision of resources.	**1. PRINCIPAL TRIGGERS TO HOMELESSNESS FOR MEN AND WOMEN** ➢ Other than the lack of decent, affordable accommodation, what would you say are the key triggers (pathways) to homelessness in (name of case study country) for **both** men and women,? ➢ What theories of housing and social exclusion would you say are relevant here? **2. CAUSES OF HOMELESSNESS FOR WOMEN** ➢ Thinking about **just women**, what specifically triggers homelessness in women in (name of case study country)? ➢ To what extent do you think domestic violence is a trigger to homelessness in women in (name of case study country)? ➢ How relevant are constructs relating to patriarchy? Postfeminism debates? Other feminist perspectives? E.g. Marxist feminism, radical feminism; liberal feminism ➢ To what extent do you think relationship breakdown is a **primary trigger** to homelessness in women in (name of case study country)? ➢ To what extent is relationship breakdown a factor in causing homelessness particularly for women who subsequently become lone parents are who are unable to work because of childcare responsibilities?

		➢ To what extent do you feel women's ability to compete in housing markets in (name of case study country) is inhibited if they are lone parents without the economic earning power of a male partner? ➢ To what extent does poverty significantly cause and perpetuate homelessness amongst women? ➢ How are welfare regimes relevant here? How adequate if the work of Esping-Andersen here? Lewis? Etc. ➢ Do you feel that being a lone parent exposes women to more risk of poverty? ➢ Thinking about all these inter- related factors together (domestic violence, relationship/marital breakdown, the formation of lone parent households and poverty), do you think that these factors **cause** homelessness amongst women? Are there any other factors which pose any **equal** risk? ➢ Thinking about all these inter- related factors together (domestic violence, relationship/marital breakdown, the formation of lone parent households and poverty), do you think that these factors **perpetuate** homelessness amongst women? Are there any other factors which pose any **equa**l risk? ➢ Do you have any information sources/reference to support your view of **primary triggers** to women's homelessness? **3. PROBLEMS OF HOMELESSNESS AMONGST WOMEN** ➢ What particular problems do women experience when they become homeless?

		➢ In your view, do specialist agencies designed to alleviate the problem do so effectively? If so, how do they achieve this? If not, why not? What changes, if any, would you like to see take place to improve the way in which organisations respond to women's homelessness? **4. <u>CHARACTERISTICS OF WOMEN'S HOMELESSNESS</u>** ➢ Would you say that women's homelessness characterises itself in a different way to men's homelessness? PROMPT: Do you think it is less visible? If so, why is this the case? Are 'hidden homeless' women adequately catered for by current housing and welfare policy? ➢ Consider methodologies used to assess homelessness. How adequate inadequate are they? What would be a more robust alternative? **5. <u>OVERVIEW OF CURRENT ASSISTANCE AVAILABLE FROM CENTRAL GOVERNMENT AND OTHER AGENCIES</u>** ➢ What general assistance is currently available to homeless women in (name of case study country)? ➢ Do you think this assistance is adequate and appropriate? ➢ To what extent are resources allocated equally between men and women? ➢ What changes (if any) would you like to see?

		6. <u>SYSTEMS FOR ALLEVIATING HOMELESSNESS</u> ➢ What specific systems are available in (name of case study country) to alleviate homelessness amongst women? ➢ Do these systems different for women compared to men? ➢ Consider the relationship between evidence of need and emergency homelessness provision such as hostels and shelters. Do you think that adequate provision exists for homeless women in (name of case study country)? ➢ How accurate are occupancy rates of emergency women's accommodation as a true reflection of need? PROMPT: Do you think that if there was more specialist accommodation for women, would be further evidence of need? i.e. does the lack of accommodation camouflage the true extent of need? Are you aware of any evaluation frameworks for evaluating the effectiveness of these systems? **7. <u>SYSTEMS FOR THE PREVENTION OF HOMELESSNESS</u>** ➢ Are you aware of any systems designed to prevent homelessness amongst women in (name of case study country)? ➢ Do these systems different for women compared to men? **8 <u>EVALUATION OF SYSTEMS</u>** ➢ How would you assess overall the effectiveness of these systems overall in alleviating and preventing homelessness amongst women?

		➢ What overall changes would you like to see? **9. <u>MECHANISMS TO PROVIDE MEDIUM TERM/PERMANENT ACCOMMODATION</u>** ➢ When women are offered temporary accommodation in, for example, hostels or shelters, how effective are the mechanisms to provide medium term or permanent accommodation? ➢ In (name of case study country) and (name of case study country), the majority of homeless women, particularly those with children, tend to move in to **<u>social housing</u>**, following a period of time in temporary accommodation. What happens in the case of (name of case study country)? (PROMPT: If not social housing, what form of accommodation, benefits, disbenefits etc). ➢ To what extent do you think that single lone parents claiming state benefits are likely to be **<u>more</u>** dependent on the social housing sector than any other housing sector? Why do you think this? ➢ How accessible and affordable is owner occupied accommodation in (name of case study country) for single mothers who are leaving interim accommodation? Is this the same for single women? Do you think single women or lone mothers are able to compete for owner occupied accommodation in (name of case study country's) housing market as men? ➢ How accessible and affordable is private rented accommodation in (name of case study country) for single mothers who are leaving interim accommodation? Is this the same for

		single women? Do you think single women or lone mothers are able to compete for private rented accommodation in (name of case study country's) housing market as men? ➢ To what extent do you believe lone mothers with dependent children are able to compete in owner occupied housing sector, when compared with: single women who do not have children; and single men who do not have children; and lone parent men. If not, why not? What changes do you feel are required overall to ensure that women are able to compete equally with men in the housing markets of (name of case study country)? ➢ Is there any evidence in (name of case study country) that women, particularly lone parents, become trapped in a cycle of homelessness because of exclusion from private sector housing markets?

Theme 2: Structural factors which perpetuate homelessness		**Breaking the Cycle** 10. Would you say the system seeks to break this cycle of homelessness amongst women? PROMPT: Is there any evidence of women breaking out of the poverty trap? What factors feither facilitate this or impinge on this process?
Theme 3: Theoretical and social constructs o homelessness	Disparities between theoretical models of homelessness; assessment of integration of these models into legislative and policy making processes; critique of differences and similarities and differences which exist in each case study country	**11. <u>KEY THEORIES OF HOMELESSNESS</u>** ➢ Outline some of the key theoretical debates which exist in (case study country) as regards notions of homelessness – interview to outline? PROMPT – Normative, felt and expressed needs? Do theoretical constructs highlight principally rooflessness, medium term homelessness, both? Problems with the definition? **12. <u>DEFINITIONS OF HOMELESSNESS</u>** ➢ Are you aware of any **<u>legal definitions</u>** of homelessness in (name of case study country) PROMPT: What definitions exist in (name of case study country) even if you don't agree with them? Is this definition adequate? If not why not?

		➢ What about NGO/Other organisations' definitions of homelessness – are you aware of any in respect to (name of case study country)? PROMPT: Here again, what definitions exist in (name of case study country) even if you don't agree with them? Is this definition adequate? If not why not? ➢ Are you aware of any definitions of homelessness in (name of case study country) which you feel adequately encapsulate the **theoretical concept** of homelessness? ➢ Thinking about mainstream (malestream) concepts of homelessness, how inclusive generally are they of women in (name of case study country)? ➢ In general, to what extent would you say that theoretical notions of homelessness are reflected in national housing legislation? (PROMPT: WHAT IS INCLUDED? WHAT IS EXCLUDED? ARE WOMEN ADEQUATELY INCLUDED? IF NOT, WHY NOT? ➢ Specifically, to what

		extent are theoretical notions of homelessness reflected in national homelessness legislation? ➢ In the case of (names of one other of the case study countries), theories of homelessness tend to focus on (give key theoretical debates) – to what extent are these 'transferable to (name of case study country)? (PROMPT: WHY TRANSFERABLE? WHY NOT TRANSFERABLE? ➢ Equally, in the case of (names of one other of the case study countries), theories of homelessness tend to focus on (give key theoretical debates) – to what extent are these 'transferable to (name of case study country)? **13**. **KEY DATA SOURCES** ➢ Do you know of any useful summaries/references on the key theoretical constructs of homeless women (or general homeless households) preferably in English? ➢ Do you know of any useful summaries/references on

		the key legislation effecting homeless women (or general homeless households) preferably in English?
Theme 4: Notions of housing and social exclusion	Review and critique of debates surrounding notions of housing and social exclusion; critique of similarities and difference s which exist in each case study country	**14. <u>COMPARATIVE HOUSING AND SOCIAL EXCLUSION DEBATES</u>** ➢ Consider any key theoretical debates highlighting housing and social exclusion. How adequate are these debates in addressing the needs of homeless women?
Theme 5: Citizenship: Towards a Feminist Synthesis.	Development of theoretical framework to encompass notions of citizenship, housing exclusion and feminist debates	**15. <u>NOTIONS OF CITIZENSHIP: A FEMINIST SYNTHESIS?</u>** ➢ To what extent do both men and women have <u>rights to housing</u> as a homeless person in (case study country)? ➢ In your opinion, is gender a factor in gaining access to these rights as a homeless person? ➢ What institutional structures <u>promote</u> these rights for homeless women in (name of study country)? ➢ What institutional structures <u>inhibit</u> these rights for homeless

		women in (name of case study country) ➢ What institutional and structural changes are needed to maximise women's rights as homeless people at the point of **housing crisis**? PROMPT: ARE THESE CHANGES ANY DIFFERENT FOR WOMEN WHEN COMPARED WITH MEN? ➢ What changes are also required to **prevent** women's homelessness? PROMPT: ARE THESE CHANGES ANY DIFFERENT FOR WOMEN , WHEN COMPARED WITH MEN? What changes are needed to ensure that organisations are equipped to provide women with **reasonable, affordable permanent housing** after a period of temporary accommodation? PROMPT: ARE THESE CHANGES ANY DIFFERENT FOR WOMEN WHEN COMPARED WITH MEN?

Theme 6: Specific Legislation Instruments.	➢ Homelessness legislation, where such legislation exists or its equivalent and in particular the way in which statutory duties are met with regard to homeless women. ➢ Domestic violence Legislation designed to provide both civil and criminal remedies to victims of domestic violence such as injunctions, occupation orders and eviction orders ➢ Equality legislation with specific reference to equal pay rights and the promotion of equality in the workplace.; this will also include consideration of policies regarding the promotion of equality with regard to employment practices and in particular, any specific initiatives promote women's equality within employment markets. ➢ National and local legislative implementation: assessment of discretionary powers, where present, to apply specific provisions of relevant legislation	**16. <u>EFFECTIVENESS OF HOMELESS LEGISLATIVE PROVISION</u>** ➢ How effect is homelessness legislation (name of legislation in name of case study country) in meeting the immediate needs of women **<u>at the point of housing crisis</u>**? ie when literally roofless? ➢ Is there any specific aspect of the legislation which you believe to be inadequate? PROMPT: Have you any evidence to support your assertions? Does the legislation need to be strengthened – comment on this? Is there any discretion for the legislation to be interpreted at a local level in (name of case study country)? e.g.. competency levels of solicitors, advocates, commitment of local agencies, presence of campaigning organisations on behalf of women ➢ Is the legal definition of homelessness adequate in reflecting homelessness for **<u>both</u>** men and women? How does the legal definition differ to that used by NGOs, social policy, campaigning organisations? ➢ Which definition do you feel is more appropriate to apply in cases where women are homeless? ➢ Are there any specific elements of the definition contained in the legislation which you believe inadequately represent the needs of homeless women, compared with homeless men? ➢ Is there any other housing legislation which you feel is relevant in enabling

		women to find accommodation **at the point of housing crisis** in (name of case study country)? ➢ How effective is the legislation with regard to protecting victims of domestic violence in (name of case study country)? PROMPT: Again, have you any evidence to support your assertions? Does the legislation need to be strengthened – comment on this? Is there any discretion for the legislation to be interpreted at a local/regional level in (name of case study country)? e.g.. competency levels of solicitors, advocates, commitment of local agencies, presence of campaigning organisations on behalf of women ➢ What role do you feel equality legislation has in enabling women to acquire decent accommodation in the private sector (rented and owner occupied)? PROMPT: Again, have you any evidence to support your assertions? Does the legislation need to be strengthened – comment on this. Is there any discretion for the legislation to be interpreted at a local level in (name of case study country)? Are there any factors which impact on maximising rights at a local level eg. Competency levels of solicitors, advocates, commitment of local agencies, presence of campaigning organisations on behalf of women

Theme 7: Specific Policies of Agencies using typology of municipality, non government organisations.	➢ Local Authority (or Municipality) Housing Policies with regard to homeless women, specifically their discharge of duties towards victims of domestic violence and homeless lone parents with dependent children ➢ Policies of Other statutory Organisations concerned with the alleviation and prevention of homelessness, particularly policies regarding direct access accommodation, housing advice and resettlement procedures; this may include the social services, education and health authorities (or their equivalent) ➢ Policies of Voluntary Organisations or Non-Government Organisations which provide housing and other support services for homeless women. These organisations may include advice and advocacy agencies as well as direct accommodation providers ➢ Private sector solicitors with specific expertise in applying for injunctions and other measures designed to combat domestic violence ➢ Fiscal Polices which relate to combating poverty amongst women such as anti-poverty strategies, 'returning to work' and welfare benefit policies	**17. <u>MUNICIPALITY/LOCAL AUTHORITY</u>** ➢ Does the municipality's definition of homelessness differ to that of NGOs in (name of (case study country)? ➢ How effective is the municipality in discharging is legal responsibilities under the (name of homelessness/housing legislation)? PROMPT: what are the problems/ issues e.g. lack of resources. ➢ What improvements are needed to ensure that ensure that women are able to maximise any rights afforded by the (name of homelessness/housing legislation)? ➢ In (name of case study country 1) legislation exists which (outline legislation). Do you think this would effective in (name of case study country)? ➢ In (name of case study country 2), legislation exists which (outline legislation). Do you think this would effective in (name of case study country)? ➢ Would you say there is any difference in the way women have access to the (name of homelessness legislation) compared to men? ➢ How effective is the municipality in (case study country) in dealing

		with women's homelessness **at the point of housing crisis?** Would you say that women and men are afforded the same priority? ➢ How effective is the municipality in the **prevention** of homelessness amongst women? Would you say what women and men are afforded the same priority? ➢ How effective is the municipality in providing decent, affordable **medium term/long term** accommodation for women? Is this accommodation suitable for the needs of women, particularly those with children? What other housing options would you like to see available? ➢ How well does the municipality liaise with other relevant organisations in securing **emergency** accommodation for women? ➢ How would you rate the relationship the municipality has with NGOS which provide specialist services to homeless women? Does the referral system work well? Is there anything you feel could improve ➢ Is there any thing else you think the municipality should do to provide housing and other assistance to homeless women? ➢ How well informed are women generally about their housing

		rights? eg. rights to occupy the 'matrimonial' home? Rights to protection as victims of domestic violence? **18. <u>ROLE OF NGOS AND OTHER AGENCIES</u>** ➢ Do NGOs have a different definition of homelessness than the municipality? Please provide if available. ➢ How important is the role played by NGOS in the alleviation and prevention of homelessness amongst women in (case study country)? ➢ How would you rate the relationship NGOs have with the municipality? ➢ Are there any specific factors which inhibit the role NGOs in the alleviation and prevention of homelessness amongst women? **19. <u>ROLE OF HOUSING RIGHTS SERVICES</u>** ➢ Do you think there is a need to provide more 'housing rights' based services for women? In this context, 'housing rights service' means a service provided by an organisation specialising in advocacy And support, normally where members of the public may seek advice and information. In some instances, a member of staff from the 'housing rights service' may make representation

		to the authorities or other agency, on behalf of the person with housing difficulties). ➢ Is there is a need, by whom should this be provided? E.g. municipality, NGO etc ➢ Does the presence of a housing rights/advocacy service significantly effect the way in which the municipality deals with homeless women? **20. <u>INTER AGENCY COLLABORATION</u>** ➢ How important do you consider inter-agency collaboration in the alleviation and prevention of homelessness amongst women in (name of case study country)? PROMPT: Are NGOs important in providing accommodation in (name of case study country)? ➢ How well do organisations collaborate to ensure that women are given emergency accommodation at **<u>the point of housing crisis?</u>** ➢ Do organisations working with victims of domestic violence liase closely with organisations providing both short term and long term accommodation? ➢ Does the legal profession, particularly when applying for injunction work effectively with housing providers to ensure a place of safety is available if

		required? ➢ Do the police work well with housing and advice support providers in cases of domestic violence? ➢ How well informed are the health services as regards the impact of homelessness on women's health and the health of their children? ➢ What factors promote effective collaboration at a local level? PROMPT: Are professional networks relevant, presence of campaigning groups relevant in enabling women to maximise their rights? **21. <u>EFFECTIVENESS OF INJUNCTION/BARRING ORDERS/EXCLUSION ORDERS</u>** ➢ Overall, how would you rate injunctions/barring orders as a mechanism for protecting victims of domestic violence? ➢ What factors deter women who are victims of domestic violence from instigating prosecution proceedings against perpetrators of domestic violence? ➢ Are there any problems in the application process for women who apply for exclusion orders/injunctions which you would like to highlight? ➢ What changes do you feel are needed to improve this?

		22. <u>FISCAL POLICIES</u> ➢ To what extent would you say there is a relationship between women's income and their dependence on social housing in (name case study country)? ➢ Do you feel overall that equality legislation has brought equality of income between men and women in (name of case study country)? ➢ Are you aware of any instance where women have been more susceptible to poverty as a result of being made homeless (through domestic violence, relationship breakdown?) ➢ Would you say that current welfare policies are adequate in providing financial assistance to homeless women **<u>at the point of housing crisis</u>**? ➢ Would you say that current welfare policies enable women staying in emergency accommodation secure alternative, appropriate accommodation? ➢ How do you think welfare polices should change to appropriately meet women's long term housing needs? ➢ Do you consider that the private sector (commerce) has a role in enabling women's long term housing needs to be met?

Theme 8: Processes	➢ The processes by which women access services designed to alleviate and prevent homelessness. This may include the effectiveness, expediency and appropriateness of referral procedures to housing and other relevant agencies.	**23. <u>LEVEL OF AWARENESS OF SERVICES AVAILABLE</u>** ➢ Would you say overall that both women and men are aware of the range of services designed to provide assistance to them if they are made homeless? Are there any specific circumstances which are applicable to women more than men? ➢ On the whole, how would you rate women's experiences of these processes? ➢ How might these processes be improved?

Theme 9: Systems and Non-perpetuation of homelessness amongst women;	➢ Organisational capacity in respect to providing long term housing options for women	**24. <u>OVERALL ORGANISATIONAL CAPACITY</u>** ➢ Overall, how would you rate the capacity of housing organisations to prevent recurring homelessness in both men and women? Are there any specific circumstances which apply specifically to women?.

Theme 10: Key areas of institutional and structural change	➢ Identification of key areas of institutional and structural change which are required to eradicate homelessness amongst women in (name of case study country)	**25. <u>SUMMARY DATA</u>** ➢ Considering all that has been discussed, how would you summarise the main triggers which causes homelessness amongst women? ➢ How equipped is the homelessness system to deal with these triggers at the point of **<u>housing crisis</u>**? ➢ With regard to the point of **<u>housing crisis,</u>** what policy changes would you like to see short –term? And long term? ➢ With regard to the provision of **<u>permanent accommodation,</u>** what institutional/structural changes would you like to see short term? And long term? ➢ What is your view regarding the research topic overall? What specific methodological problems do you anticipate doing a comparative research topic examining gender and homelessness in three Western European countries? How would you overcome these methodological problems? ➢ I would now like you to outline a visionary image of a utopian homelessness system in (name of case study country) to adequately address housing exclusion amongst women.. What form would this take? ➢ Do you think this might ever be realistically implemented? What **<u>institutional/structural changes</u>** might be needed to attain this utopian homelessness system for women, **<u>in the short term</u>**? ➢ What **<u>institutional/structural changes</u>** might be needed to attain this utopian homelessness system **<u>in the long term</u>**? ➢ Finally, is there anything else you would like to add?

APPENDIX B: MODEL USED IN THEMATIC ANALYSIS

Table 1: Thematic Analysis Applied in Study of Women and Homelessness in England (Leeds), Ireland (Cork) and France (Lyon).
THEME 1: WELFARE REGIMES AS THEORETICAL CONSTRUCTS IN HOUSING AND HOMELESSNESS: A FEMINIST REVIEW.
Sub- theme A: Critical assessment of the work of Esping-Andersen and the 'Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism'; review of alterative approaches to housing welfare from a feminist perspective; link between welfare regimes and homelessness.
THEME 2: HOUSING RIGHTS & NOTIONS OF CITIZENSHIP: FEMINIST ANALYSIS
Sub -theme B: Critical review of debates related to citizenship, women's homelessness and welfare regimes.
Sub theme C: Definitions of homelessness used in England, Ireland and France; relevance to theories of welfare regimes and gender.
THEME 3 ANALYSIS OF HOMELESSNESS SYSTEMS BY CASE STUDY COUNTRY AND CITY
Sub theme D: Critical review of housing provision in England, Ireland and France; identification of key issues relevant to women and welfare regimes.
Sub -theme E: Feminist overview of homelessness systems in England, Ireland and France.
Subtheme F: Broad perceptions of nature and extent of homelessness by country; between men and women. Triggers to homelessness for both men and women Degrees of risk; identification of issues relevant to women.
Sub theme G: Policies of statutory organisations concerned with the alleviation and prevention of women's homelessness, particularly policies regarding direct access accommodation, housing advice and resettlement procedures; this may include the social services, education and health authorities and equivalent in each country.
Sub theme H: Policies of voluntary organisations or non-government organisations which provide housing and other support services for homeless women; include advice and advocacy agencies as well as direct accommodation providers.
Sub theme I: Assessment of degree of institutional risk posed in the England, Ireland and France posed by the variables of domestic violence; relationship breakdown; poverty and being a lone parent household.
THEME 4: FURTHER REFINEMENT OF THE THEORETICAL MODEL OF WELFARE REGIMES: FEMINIST REVIEW BASED ON COMPARATIVE STUDY OF HOMELESS WOMEN IN LEEDS, CORK AND LYON.
Sub theme J: Overall evaluation of welfare approaches in alleviation and prevention of homelessness amongst women where housing exclusion is caused by the four primary triggers of domestic violence; relationship breakdown; poverty and being the household type of lone parent; review of the extent to which relative dominant triggers reflect broad approaches to gender and specifically women as consumers of homelessness services.
Sub theme K: Review of overall theoretical framework to include the relative risk to homelessness posed by the interrelated variables of domestic violence; relationship breakdown; poverty and being a household type of lone parents. Based on overall assessment f primary and secondary research evidence.
Sub-theme L: Implications for comparative housing studies and need to recognise a more gender sensitive research framework.

APPENDIX C: TOPIC GUIDE FOR RESEARCH RESPONDENTS

THEME 1 HOMELESSNESS SYSTEMS IN ENGLAND, IRELAND AND FRANCE: RELEVANCE TO GENDER	Sub theme A: Broad perceptions of nature and extent of homelessness by sector; differences between men and women's homelessness; triggers to homelessness for both men and women and degrees of risk; identification of issues relevant to women.	To what extent are we dealing effectively with homelessness amongst men and women? What are the common triggers to homelessness for both men and women? Why is this the case? How effective are existing policy measures in tackling these triggers? How might we break the cycle? What contribution does your own organisation make? To what extent is being a statutory or voluntary sector organisation relevant to what impact you can make?
	Sub -theme B: Overall approach to homelessness policies, including prevention, applied by statutory (municipal) and voluntary (non-government; not for profit sector) England; Ireland and France; critical review of the extent to which these services are gender sensitive.	How effective is your equal opportunities policy in relation to gender? What is the balance of male and female clients in your organisation? Why is that? Probe: difference in manifestations of homelessness between men and women. Why
	Sub theme C: Assessment of degree of risk posed in the England, Ireland and France posed by the variables of domestic violence; relationship breakdown; poverty and being a lone parent household	What are the common triggers to homelessness for women only? Why is this the case? How effective are existing policy measures in tackling these triggers? How might we break the cycle? In your professional experience, to what extent do you think domestic violence is a trigger to homelessness in women in (name of case study city? If to large extent, probe why e.g. patriarchal societal factors; management practices. To what extent do you think relationship breakdown is a primary trigger to homelessness in women in (name of case study city)? If to large extent, probe why e.g. patriarchal societal factors; management practices. To what extent is relationship breakdown a factor in causing homelessness particularly for women who subsequently become lone parents are who are unable to work because of childcare responsibilities? What housing options are generally open to women who have been made homeless? Probe short and long term; probe sustainability of these housing options within context of further risks.

		To what extent do you feel women's ability to compete in housing markets in (name of case study country) is inhibited if they are lone parents without the economic earning power of a male partner? To what extent does poverty significantly cause and perpetuate homelessness amongst women? Do you feel that being a lone parent exposes women to more risk of poverty? Thinking about all these interrelated factors together (domestic violence, relationship/marital breakdown, the formation of lone parent households and poverty), do you think that these factors cause homelessness amongst women? Are there any other factors which pose any equal risk? Thinking about all these interrelated factors together (domestic violence, relationship/marital breakdown, the formation of lone parent households and poverty), do you think that these factors perpetuate homelessness amongst women? Are there any other factors which pose any equal risk? Do you have any data e.g. annual reports; casework statistics to support your view of primary triggers to women's homelessness
	Sub theme D - Review of local authority (or municipality) housing policies with regard to homeless women in each country, specifically their discharge of duties towards victims of domestic violence and homeless lone parents with dependent children	Now considering the local authority's (or your organisation's if respondent is local authority officer) service overall, how effective are these in meeting the needs of homelessness women? Probe for specific examples. To what extent do you need further services? Probe evidence and future funding; strategic work. Are there any other resources you think would help you in providing further services?
	Sub theme E: Policies of other statutory organisations concerned with the alleviation and prevention of homelessness, particularly policies regarding direct access accommodation, housing advice and resettlement procedures; this may include the social services, education and health authorities (or equivalent in each country).	To what extent are the policies of other statutory organisations (local authority or social services) adequate in supporting homeless women? Probe examples of good practice and in particular policy deficits.
	Sub theme F: Policies of	To what extent are the policies of other statutory organisations

	voluntary organisations or non-government organisations which provide housing and other support services for homeless women; include advice and advocacy agencies as well as direct accommodation providers	(local authority or social services) adequate in supporting homeless women? Probe examples of good practice and in particular policy deficits. What specific systems are available in (name of case study country) to alleviate homelessness amongst women? Do these systems different for women compared to men? Consider the relationship between evidence of need and emergency homelessness provision such as hostels and shelters. Do you think that adequate provision exists for homeless women in (name of case study city? How accurate are occupancy rates of emergency women's accommodation as a true reflection of need? Probe if there was more specialist accommodation for women, would be further evidence of need? ie does the lack of accommodation camouflage the true extent of need; data recording is resource led.? Are you aware of any evaluation frameworks for evaluating the effectiveness of these systems?
	Sub theme G: Definitions of homelessness, including legislation where relevant, used in England, Ireland and France; key housing and welfare issues for women identified.	Do you use a working definition of homelessness? Probe whether this has been devised by the organisations or whether it is legal or other definition. How adequate is this definition in relation to women? Probe if inadequate. Probe if statistics available to support implementation of homelessness definition.
	Sub theme H: Role of dedicated housing legislation in promoting rights for homeless women; relevance to welfare regimes critically reviewed from a gender perspective.	How useful is housing legislation? Probe benefits, limitations and recommendation for change (by which sector).
	Sub theme I: Overall evaluation of welfare approaches in alleviation and prevention of homelessness amongst women where housing exclusion is caused by the four primary triggers of domestic violence; relationship breakdown; poverty and being the household type of lone parent; review of the extent to which relative dominant	How would you rate overall services in case study city for homeless women. Why? Probe for evidence citation.

	triggers reflect broad approaches to gender and specifically women as consumers of homelessness services.	
THEME 2: WELFARE REGIMES: A CRITICAL REVIEW	Sub- theme J: Critical assessment of the work if Esping-Andersen and the 'Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism'; review of alterative approaches to welfare from a feminist perspective.	To what extent does our approach to welfare adequately address the needs of homeless women? What do you think of government policy on homelessness and women? Why do you think policy is the way it is? What are the facts which impact on government's approach to homelessness.? Is government assistance adequate and appropriate? To what extent are resources allocated equally between men and women? What changes (if any) would you like to see?
THEME 3: HOUSING RIGHTS & NOTIONS OF CITIZENSHIP: FEMINIST ANALYSIS	Sub -theme K: Critical review of key notions relevant to housing 'rights' and citizenship; relevance to women within the contemporary housing context.	In (name of case study country) and (name of case study country), the majority of homeless women, particularly those with children, tend to move in to social housing, following a period of time in temporary accommodation. What happens in the case of (name of case study country)? (Probe: If not social housing, what form of accommodation, benefits, disbenefits etc). To what extent do you think that single lone parents claiming state benefits are likely to be more dependent on the social housing sector than any other housing sector? Why do you think this? How accessible and affordable is owner occupied accommodation in (name of case study country) for single mothers who are leaving interim accommodation? Is this the same for single women? Do you think single women or lone mothers are able to compete for owner occupied accommodation in (name of case study country's) housing market as men? How accessible and affordable is private rented accommodation in (name of case study country) for single mothers who are leaving interim accommodation? Is this the same for single women? Do you think single women or lone mothers are able to compete for private rented accommodation in (name of case study country's) housing market as men? To what extent do you believe lone mothers with dependent children are able to compete in owner occupied housing sector, when compared with: single women who do not have children; and single men who do not have children; and lone parent men. If not, why not? What changes do you feel are required overall to

		ensure that women are able to compete equally with men in the housing markets of (name of case study country)? Is there any evidence in (name of case study country) that women, particularly lone parents, become trapped in a cycle of homelessness because of exclusion from private sector housing markets? To what extent do eights as a homeless person trigger other services? How might this be for women, particularly those with children? Do these rights apply to other areas of the welfare system? e.g education; health.
THEME 4. FURTHER REFINEMENT OF THE THEOERTICAL MODEL OF WELFARE	Sub -theme L: Review of overall theoretical framework to include the relative risk to homelessness posed by the interrelated variables of domestic violence; relationship breakdown; poverty and being a household type of lone parents. Based on overall assessment of primary and secondary research evidence.	Overall, which is the main triggers for homelessness in women? Probe why and evidence base
	Sub -theme M: Implications for comparative housing studies and need to recognise a more gender sensitive research framework.	Do you recording systems and management procedures reflect this different needs of homeless women and their disproportionately high level of dependency on homelessness services? How might this information be better maintained? How can it be used for policy development and for making recommendations?

APPENDIX D: QUANTITATIVE QUESTIONNAIRE: LEEDS RESEARCH RESPONDENTS.

WOMEN AND EUROPEAN HOMELESSNESS SYSTEMS

CASE STUDY COUNTRY – ENGLAND (LEEDS)

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Introduction

The research focuses of the key triggers to homelessness for women in the Leeds, France and England. Previous research in England has clearly shown that the interrelated factors of domestic violence/relationship breakdown and poverty (particularly amongst lone parent families) significantly increase women's risk to homelessness. The evidence clearly suggests that this remains the case despite the existence of the institutions and structures which purport to alleviate and prevent homelessness. Research in England also shows that current emergency accommodation is both inadequate in supply and inappropriate for homeless women and that women are more likely than men to be dependant on the social housing sector.

A case study city for each country has been selected: Republic of Ireland – Leeds; France – Lyon and Leeds, England.

This questionnaire represented Phase 3 of the research project and fifteen organisations from each case study city are being invited to participate in this Phase. Phase 2 takes the form of semi-structured interviews with academics in each case study country specialising in gender and homelessness.

PLEASE NOTE THAT ALL RESPONSES WILL BE TREATED AS STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL AND INDIVIDUAL RESPONDENTS WILL NOT BE IDENTIFED.

Please complete the following information:

Name of Respondent	
Job Title	
Name of Organisation	
Address	
Tel no	
Email address	

SECTION 1: GENERAL PERCEPTIONS OF HOMELESSNESS

1. How big a problem do you think homelessness amongst **both men and women** is generally in Leeds?

Major Problem	Minor Problem	Not a Problem	Not a Problem

2. How do you think the problem of homelessness today in Leeds compares to ten years ago?

Much better now than five years ago	Somewhat better now than five years	About the same	Somewhat worse now than five years ago	Much worse now than five years ago

3. In general, do you feel that the Government is doing enough to address the problem of homelessness?

Definitely doing enough	Is doing enough	Not doing enough	Definitely not doing enough

4. Overall, do you feel that NGOs are doing enough to alleviate the problem of homelessness?

Definitely doing enough	Is doing enough	Not doing enough	Definitely not doing enough

5. What general housing assistance is available to homeless households in Leeds? Tick **all** that apply

	Yes	No
Local authority hostel/shelter		
NGO hostel/shelter		
Bed and breakfast accommodation		
Other – please specify		

6. Thinking about emergency housing resources generally, to what extent would you say that they mainly catered for men, or women, or equally for both?

	Mainly Men	Mainly Women	Equally Both
Local authority hostel/shelter			
NGO hostel/shelter			
Bed and breakfast accommodation			
Other – please specify			

7. What (if any) further emergency housing resources would you like to see?

Further emergency housing resources you would like to see

8. Are there any housing rights services (by this, I mean advice/advocacy services) available to homeless women in Leeds?

Yes	Please go to question (9) below
No	Please continue to question (10)and (11)

9. Who provides these housing rights services?

	Yes	No
Local authority		
NGO		
Church		
Other. Please specify		

10. In your view, are the housing rights services in Leeds effective?

	Very effective	Effective	Not Effective	Not at all Effective
Local authority				
NGO				
Church				
Other				

11. In general, do these housing rights services differ in any way to whose provided for mainly homeless men?

Yes	Please go to question (12) below
No	Please proceed to question (13)

12. What is the main difference?

13. Are you aware of any systems specifically designed to **prevent** homelessness amongst women in Leeds? By 'systems' I mean organisational policies or practices which seek to prevent homelessness; these may include: good referral procedures, implementation of best practice, effective interagency networks.

Yes	
No	

14. Who are these preventative services provided by? Tick all that apply.

	Yes	No
Local authority		
NGO		
Church		
Other. Please specify		

15. To what extent do you consider these services to be effective?

	Very effective	Effective	Not effective	Not at all effective
Local authority				
NGO				
Church				
Other. Please specify				

16. In general, do these preventative services differ in any way to whose provided for mainly homeless men?

Yes	Please go to question (17) below
No	Please proceed to question (18)

17. What is the main difference?

SECTION 2: PRIMARY TRIGGERS (TRIGGERS MEANING MAIN REASONS) TO HOMELESSNESS: MEN AND WOMEN

18. In your view, which of the following factors (which exclude the provision of decent, affordable accommodation) do you think are likely to be **primary triggers** (primary triggers meaning main reasons) likely to cause homelessness amongst both men and women? Please tick all that apply.

	Yes	No
Poverty		
Dependence on state benefits		
Relationship/marital breakdown with partner		
Being asked to leave by friends/ family		
Domestic violence		
Harassment from outside the home (former partner, neighbour)		
Repossession caused by rent arrears		
Repossession caused mortgage arrears		
Repossession for other reasons e.g. landlords wants possession of property to re-let for higher rent		
Discharge from institutions e.g. psychiatric hospital, prison or offenders centre		
Having principal childcare responsibilities, thereby limiting employment opportunities		
Being a single income household		
Entering the country as a refugee		
Becoming a lone parent family as a result of relationship breakdown, domestic violence or bereavement		

19. From all the triggers (that is, reasons) to homelessness given above (which exclude the further provision of decent, affordable accommodation), which would you choose as the main triggers (reason) to homelessness in Leeds? **Choose one only**

Main Trigger to Homelessness for Men and Women in Leeds

20.**Why** do you think this is the main cause of homelessness amongst men and women in Leeds?

Why main cause of homelessness amongst men and women in Leeds

21. To what extent do you consider the following triggers (primary triggers meaning main reasons) to homelessness apply **mainly** to men, or **mainly** to women, or equally to both? Tick all which apply.

	Mainly men	Mainly women	Equally to both
Poverty			
Dependence on state benefits			
Relationship/marital breakdown with partner			
Being asked to leave by friends/ family			
Domestic violence			
Harassment from outside the home (former partner, neighbour)			
Repossession caused by rent arrears			

Repossession caused mortgage arrears			
Repossession for other reasons e.g. landlords wants possession of property to re-let for higher rent			
Discharge from institutions e.g. psychiatric hospital, prison or offenders centre			
Having principal childcare responsibilities, thereby limiting employment opportunities			
Being a single income household			
Entering the country as a refugee			
Becoming a lone parent family as a result of relationship breakdown, domestic violence or bereavement			

22. When you think of the phenomenon of **street homelessness**, (rough sleeping) do you associate this image mainly with men or with women?

Mainly with men	Please go to question (23) below
Mainly with women	Please proceed to question (24)

23. Why do you associate the image of rough sleeping mainly with men? Please tick all that apply.

	Yes	No
Women generally see rough sleeping as a male terrain and therefore reluctant to be part of this group		
Personal safety and fear of violence is much more of an in issue for women than men; women feel more vulnerable than men as rough sleepers		
Women are more likely than men to stay with friends and family, therefore not forming part of the 'visible homeless' group		
Organisations and agencies dealing with rough sleepers, such as outreach services, tend to place more emphasis on men's rather than women's needs		
Emergency hostel provision as an alternative to rough sleeping is largely geared towards the needs of men; women therefore feel alienated by the environment of emergency accommodation		
It is more socially acceptable for men to be seen literally homeless than it is for women		
Homeless women tend to be accompanied by their children and therefore sleeping rough is not an option		
The state provides adequate support and thus ensures that no woman would ever have to sleep rough		
Other (please specify)		

24. Which organisation do you think should be responsible for minimising homelessness amongst men and women?

	Yes	No
Local authority/municipality		
Central Government		
Non Government Organisations e.g. i.e. not for profit		
The Police		
The Legal Profession		
No organisation – it is up to the individual to resolve the problem		
Other Campaigning/Lobbying Organisations		
Other – please specify		

SECTION 3: WOMEN AND HOMELESSNESS

25. With regard to just **women**, which factor do you think is the **main** trigger to homelessness? Please write one answer only

Main Trigger to Homelessness for Women in Leeds

26. **Why** do you think this is the main trigger to women's homelessness in Leeds?

Why the Main Trigger to Women's Homelessness in Leeds

27. Read the following statements below and state the extent to which you agree or disagree.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Relationship breakdown is one of the most common reasons for homelessness amongst women				
In the event of relationship breakdown, women have fewer housing options than men				
Domestic violence is one of the key causes of homelessness				
Poverty is a key cause of homelessness amongst women				
Legislation designed to protect women experiencing domestic violence is inadequate				
Inequality of income between men and women often means that women have fewer housing options				
Since women tend to be the main carer of dependent children, both their housing and employment opportunities are limited				
In general, single mothers are more likely to depend on social housing than single fathers				

28. When faced with an immediate **housing crisis** i.e. being literally roofless, which of the following accommodation types are women most likely to occupy? Please choose **one** only.

Staying with friends or family	
Hostel/refuge/shelter	
Sleeping rough	
Other: please specify	

29. Do you think there is sufficient emergency accommodation available in Leeds to provide shelter for women at the point of housing crisis?

Yes	Please proceed to question (31) below
No	Please go directly to question (30)

30. Thinking about Leeds, please indicate the extent to which you agree/disagree with the following statements. Tick **all** which apply.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Government needs to fund more emergency hostel accommodation for women				
Further emergency accommodation for women should be provided by the local authority/municipality				
Further emergency accommodation for women should be provided by Non-Government Organisations				
There is an equal shortage of emergency accommodation for both men and women in Leeds				
Individual should resolve homelessness on their own – they should not need help from the government or NGOs				
In general, the allocation of emergency housing resources are more likely to reflect men's rather than women's needs				
There tends to be more temporary accommodation available for men than there is for women				
Housing legislation should be strengthened to ensure that all homeless women have emergency accommodation				
Available accommodation should be more geared towards the needs of women				

31. Do you think that women depend more on specific forms of **emergency** accommodation than men, at the point of **housing crisis**?

	Women Depend More than Men	Men depend more than women	Men and women depend equally
Staying with friends or family			
Hostel/refuge			
Sleeping rough			
Other: please specify			

32. Do you think that women depend more on specific forms of **medium term** accommodation than men?

	Women Depend More than Men	Men depend more than women	Men and women depend equally
Staying with friends or family			
Hostel/refuge			
Sleeping rough			
Other: please specify			

33. Would you say that there is a housing system in place in Leeds to measure the numbers of women who are staying with friends and family as an emergency measure? Examples of such a housing system might be 'snap shot' surveys or using other data sources such as the census.

Yes	Please go to question (34) below
No	Please proceed to question (35)

34. In brief, please outline the nature of this system.

Nature of housing system for measuring numbers of women staying with friends/family as an emergency measure

Trigger to Homelessness	Rank
Domestic violence	
Relationship/marital breakdown without domestic violence	
Poverty	
Being a lone parent	

36. In the event of a relationship/marital breakdown, which household type is likely to end up financially worse off? Please tick **one box** only.

Women with dependent children	
Women without dependent children	
Men with dependent children	
Men without dependent children	
Relationship/martial breakdown effects men and women financially in equal measures	

37. Thinking about the Leeds, please indicate whether you agree or disagree with the following statements:

	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
In general, the local authority/municipality needs do more to help victims of domestic violence				
Further welfare assistance should be made available to lone parents who are made homeless				
The government should develop more comprehensive strategies to tackle poverty amongst women				
Alternative permanent housing solutions should be developed to assist homeless women				

38. **Why** do you think this?

39. To what extent do you think women who are more financially worse off than men effects their ability to obtain owner occupied or private rented accommodation **at the point of housing crisis** i.e. when they are literally roofless in Leeds?

To a very large extent	To a large extent	To some extent	No extent at all
Please go to question (40) below	Please proceed to question (41) below		

40. Why do you say this?

41. Which form of housing tenure, as move-on permanent accommodation, are women most likely to occupy after a period of time in emergency accommodation? e.g. shelter, hostel, refuge. Tick **all** which apply.

	Very likely	Likely	Not Likely	Not at all likely
Public (social) housing				
Private rented				
Owner occupied				
Other e.g. housing co-operative				

42. To what extent do you consider women likely to move into the following housing tenure types as longer term accommodation?

	Very Likely	Likely	Not Likely	Not at all Likely
Public (social) housing				
Private rented				
Owner occupied				
Other e.g. housing co-operative				

43. Which organisations do you think have a responsibility for developing further solutions to address the problem of women's homelessness? Tick **all** that apply.

	Yes	No
Local authority/municipality		
Non Government Organisations		
The Police		
The Legal Profession		
Other Campaigning/Lobbying Organisations		
No organisation – it is up to the individual to resolve the problem		
Other – please specify		

44. In general, to what extent would you say that the following factors inhibit longer term housing options equally apply to either men or women?

	Mainly men	Mainly women	Equally to both	Do not apply
Poverty caused by dependency of state benefits				
Poverty caused by low income				
Being a lone parent				
Other – please specify				

45. In general, after a period of homelessness, which of the following housing tenure groups would you say in general women occupy as **long term permanent** accommodation? Tick **one box** only.

	Most Likely Housing Tenure
Public (social) housing	
Private rented	
Owner occupied	
Other e.g. housing co-operative	

46. Thinking about the preferred housing tenure type you have cited in question (45), are there any specific factors which inhibit women from **securing** this housing type, following a period of homelessness?

	Yes	No	Sometimes
Poverty caused by dependency of state benefits			
Poverty caused by low income			
Being a lone parent			
Other – please specify			

47. Again, thinking about the preferred housing tenure type you have chosen in question (45), are there any specific factors which inhibit women from **sustaining** this housing tenure type, following a period of homelessness?

	Yes	No	Sometimes
Poverty caused by dependency of state benefits			
Poverty caused by low income			
Being a lone parent			
Other – please specify			

48. Read the following statements and indicate the extent to which you think they are 'true' or 'false'

	True	False
Women and men are able to compete equally in housing markets in Leeds		
Public (social) housing is used more frequently by single mothers as move-on accommodation since, in most cases, it is the only available option		
Generally, single mothers have fewer housing options than single fathers because women are concentrated in jobs which are paid less than men		
Women without children generally have fewer housing options than men without children because women are concentrated in jobs which are paid less than men		
The owner occupied sector is very accessible and affordable to most women who are moving out of emergency accommodation		
The private rented sector is very accessible and affordable to most women who are moving out of emergency accommodation		
Single mothers are less likely than single fathers to access decent owner occupied accommodation as childcare responsibilities impinges on their ability to		

maintain a full time job, thereby limiting the owner occupied sector		
Lone mothers have more problems accessing the private rented sector than lone fathers		
In most cases, women who move into social housing after a period of homeless report that they are satisfied with their accommodation.		
Women who previously have been homeless use social housing as a 'stepping stone' to owner occupied accommodation		
Women who previously have been homeless use social housing as a 'stepping stone' to private rented accommodation		
Given the choice, most women who previously have been homeless would rather live in owner occupied accommodation		
Given the choice, most women who previously have been homeless would rather live in private rented accommodation		
Women who do not have a male (as distinct from a female) earning partner are likely to have fewer housing options since men tend to earn more than women.		

49. In your opinion, are women more likely than men to live in poverty?

Yes	If yes, please answer questions (50) – (52) below.
No	Please proceed to question (53)

50. Which out of the following groups of women do you think are **most** likely to live in poverty? Tick **one** box only.

Single mothers with dependent children	Single women without children

51. To what extent do you think living in poverty limits women's housing options?

Very much limits options	Limits options	Does not really limit	Does not limit at all

52. Which organisations do you think have a responsibility to deal with poverty amongst women?

	Yes	No
Local authority/municipality		
Central government		
The welfare state through further welfare benefits		
The Legal Profession		
Campaigning/Lobbying Organisations		
Other Non Government Organisations		
No organisation – it is up to the individual to resolve the problem		
Other – please specify		

53. Overall, would you say that women who have already secured accommodation are more marginalised within housing markets in Leeds , when compared to men,? (by marginalisation, I mean segregation in poor accommodation as a result of housing inequality)

Yes	Please answer question (54) -
No	Please proceed to question (55)

54. Which of the following factors do you think significantly contribute to women's marginalisation within housing markets in Leeds? By marginalisation within housing markets, I mean any factor housing markets which inhibits women from fully engaging in the housing options available.

	Mainly men	Mainly women	Equally to both
Poverty			
Dependence on state benefits			
Relationship/marital breakdown with partner			
Being asked to leave by friends/ family			
Domestic violence			
Harassment from outside the home (former partner, neighbour)			
Repossession caused by rent arrears			
Repossession caused mortgage arrears			
Repossession for other reasons e.g. landlords wants possession of property to re-let for higher rent			
Discharge from institutions e.g. psychiatric hospital, prison or offenders centre			
Having principal childcare responsibilities, thereby limiting employment opportunities			
Being a single income household			
Entering the country as a refugee			
Becoming a lone parent family as a result of relationship breakdown, domestic violence or bereavement			

55. Overall, considering the level of emergency homelessness provision in Leeds such as hostels and shelters, would you say that existing provision caters for men or for women? Please tick **one** box only.

Caters mainly for men	Caters mainly for women	Caters equally for both men and women

56. Which, if any, of the following groups, would you say are over-represented in local authority housing in Leeds?

	Over represented	Not over represented	Don't Know
Single men without children, unemployed and claiming state benefit			
Single men without children in full time employment			
Lone mothers with dependent children unemployed and claiming welfare benefits			
Lone mothers with dependent children in full time employment			
Lone mothers with dependent in part time employment			
Single fathers with dependent children in full time employment			
Single fathers with dependent children unemployed and claiming welfare benefits			
Couples with dependent children, both in full-time employment			
Couples with dependent children, unemployed and claiming state benefits			

57. From the classifications below, please rank which groups are most likely to be over represented in local authority housing in Leeds. Please choose **3 only**, 1 = most likely, 3 = least likely)

	Rank
Single men without children, unemployed and claiming state benefit	
Single men without children in full time employment	
Lone mothers with dependent children, unemployed and claiming welfare benefits	
Lone mothers with dependent children in full time employment	
Lone mothers with dependent in part time employment	
Single fathers with dependent children in full time employment	
Single fathers with dependent children unemployed and claiming welfare benefits	
Couples with dependent children, both in full-time employment	
Couples with dependent children, unemployed and claiming state benefits	

SECTION 4: DEFINITIONS OF HOMELESSNESS

58. Are you aware of the legal definition of homelessness as contained in the Housing Act 1988 (homelessness legislation)?

Yes	
No	

59. Do you feel that this definition is adequate?

Yes	Please go to question (65)
No	Please answer questions (60) to (64)

60. What would you say is the main limitation(s) of this definition?

61. Would you say that the local authority/municipality maximised the potential of the Housing Act 1996 Part 7 on behalf of homelessness groups in Leeds?

Yes	
No	

62. Is the local authority/municipality able to exercise any discretion on how it interprets this legislation at a local level?

Yes	
No	

63. Would you say the legislation is more responsive to women or men? Tick **one box** only

More responsive to women	More responsive to men	Responsive to both man and women equally
Please go to question (65)	Please go to question (64) below	Please go to question (65)

64. Are there any changes you feel are required to make the legislation more responsive to women?

Changes which would make the homelessness legislation more responsive to women

65. Are you aware of any definition of homelessness used by non-government organisations (NGOs)?

Yes	Please answer questions (66) – (67)
No	Please proceed directly to Section 5

66. In general, would you say that the definition used by NGOs is more liberal that the legal definition used by local authorities?

Yes	
No	

67. Which definition (either the legal definition or the NGO definition) would you say it the most appropriate for homelessness households in Leeds? Please tick **one** box only.

Legal definition	
NGO definition	

SECTION 5: RIGHTS TO EMERGENCY ACCOMMODATION

68. To what extent do homeless households generally have **legal** rights to emergency accommodation, if they are literally homeless?

To a Large Extent	To an Extent	Not Very Much	Not at All

69. To what extent to organisations have **the capacity** to provide temporary accommodation to households who are literally homeless?

To a Large Extent	To an Extent	Not Very Much	Not at All

70. Which organisation is most likely to provide this accommodation?

	Yes	No
Local authority		
NGO		
Church		
Other. Please specify		

71. Would you say that having dependent children increases the chance of acquiring emergency accommodation?

Yes	
No	

SECTION 6: DOMESTIC VIOLENCE: LEGISLATION AND POLICIES

72. Thinking about the legislation in place designed to protect women who are victims of domestic violence, how effective do you think it is?

Very effective	Not very effective	Not effective	Not at all effective

73. Read following statements below and indicate whether you agree or disagree

	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Injunction (barring orders/ exclusion orders) are an effective way to protect women from a violent partner				
Courts always issue adequate punishment for men who break the terms of an injunction (barring order/exclusion order)				
Women who are victims of domestic have confidence that the judicial system will issue an appropriate punishment to violent partners				
It is easy for women to apply for and be awarded an injunction in cases of domestic violence				
In general, the police are effective in dealing with cases of domestic violence				
Granting an injunction to evict a violent partner can sometimes place a woman at greater risk of violence				
Women are reluctant to press charges against a violent partner, even in instances where the violence has been for many years and has been severe				
Overall, advice and advocacy agencies are very skilled in informing women of their rights when dealing with victims of domestic violence				
The local authority/municipality provides promote and appropriate assistance to victims of domestic violence				
The presence of children is a significant factor in **deterring** women from pressing charges against a violent partner				
The presence of children is a significant factor in **encouraging** women from pressing charges against a violent partner				
Women who are victims of domestic violence are able to secure emergency accommodation e.g. shelters, refuges, hostels very easily				
Women who are victims of domestic violence are able to secure appropriate, decent longer term accommodation				
Fear of homelessness deters women from leaving a violent partner				

74. Do you think the law designed to protect victims of domestic violence needs to be strengthened?

Yes	Please answer question (75) -
No	Please go directly to question (76)

75. Which organisations do you think should be responsible for strengthening the law to protect victims of domestic violence? Tick **all** which apply.

	Yes	No
Local authority/municipality		

Central Government		
The Police		
The Legal Profession		
Non Government Organisations		
No organisation – it is up to the individual to resolve the problem		
Other Campaigning/Lobbying Organisations		
Other – please specify		

76. Overall, would you say that local agencies collaborated effectively to meet the housing and other needs of women who experience domestic violence?

Yes	Please proceed to Section 7
No	Please go directly to question (77)

77. Why do you think is needed to promote more effective inter-agency collaboration?

Ways to Promote More Effective Inter-Agency Collaboration

SECTION 7: OVERALL ASSESSMENT OF HOMELESSNESS SYSTEMS FOR WOMEN

78. Considering all the issues which have been raised, how effective overall do you think the system for dealing with homelessness amongst women is in Leeds? Please tick **one** box only

Very Effective	Effective	Not Effective	Not At All Effective

79. How responsive do you believe the following institutions are when dealing with women **at the point of housing crisis** i.e. when they are literally homeless?

	Very responsive	Fairly responsive	Not responsive	Not At All Responsive
Municipality				
Non Government Organisations				
Central Government				
The Legal Profession (Administering Injunctions/Exclusion Orders/ Barring Orders				

80. How responsive do you believe the following organisations are in providing **permanent accommodation** for women who previously have experienced homelessness?

	Very responsive	Fairly responsive	Not responsive	Not At All Responsive
Municipality				
Non Government Organisations				
Central Government				
Private Sector Housing Market				

81. How responsive do you believe the following organisations are in **preventing** homelessness amongst women?

	Very Responsive	Fairly Responsive	Not responsive	Not At All Responsive
Local authority/Municipality				
Non Government Organisations				
Central Government				
Private sector housing market				

82. How responsive do you believe the following organisations are in **alleviating poverty** amongst women?

	Very Responsive	Fairly Responsive	Not Responsive	Not At All Responsive
Municipality				
Non Government Organisations				
Central Government				
Private sector				

83. Thinking about all these points together, what is the main institutional change needed in the **short term** to effectively meet homeless women's housing needs?

Main Institutional Change Needed Short Term

84. What is the main institutional change needed in the **long term?**

Main Institutional Change Needed Long Term

85. Is there anything else you would like to add?

THANK YOU FOR PARTICIPATING IN THIS EVALUATION, YOUR HELP IS VERY MUCH APPRECIATED.

SECTION 8: ABOUT YOU AND YOUR ORGANISATION

What type of organisation are you employed by? Tick **one box** only

Local Authority Municipality - Housing	
Local Authority Municipality - Health	
Local Authority Municipality – other department	
Non Government Organisation	
Solicitor	
Academic Institution	
Other – please specify	

How long have you worked there? Tick **one box** only

Between 1 month and 1 year	
2 – 4 years	
5 – 9 years	
10 years or more	

Have you ever worked directly with women who are homeless? e.g. in a hostel, advice agency. Tick **one box** only

Yes	
No	

THANK YOU FOR COMPLETING THIS QUESTIONNAIRE. FOR INFORMATION PLEASE CONTACT:

ANGELA MAYE-BANBURY SHEFIELD HALLAM UNIVERSITY

TEL: 00 44 114 225 4753 Ext 4109 email a.maye-banbury@shu.ac.uk

APPENDIX E: QUANTITATIVE QUESTIONNAIRE: CORK RESEARCH RESPONDENTS.

WOMEN AND EUROPEAN HOMELESSNESS SYSTEMS

CASE STUDY COUNTRY – THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND

For further information, please contact:

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Introduction

The research focuses of the key 'pathways' (causes) of homelessness for women in the Leeds, France and England. Previous research in England has clearly shown that the interrelated factors of domestic violence/relationship breakdown and poverty (particularly amongst lone parent families) significantly increase women's risk to homelessness. The evidence clearly suggests that this remains the case despite the existence of the institutions and structures which purport to alleviate and prevent homelessness. Research in England also shows that current emergency accommodation is both inadequate in supply and inappropriate for homeless women and that women are more likely than men to be dependant on the social housing sector.

A case study city for each country has been selected: Republic of Ireland – Leeds; France – Lyon and Leeds, England.

This questionnaire represented Phase 3 of the research project and fifteen organisations from each case study city are being invited to participate in this Phase. Phase 2 takes the form of semi-structured interviews with academics in each case study country specialising in gender and homelessness.

PLEASE NOTE THAT ALL RESPONSES WILL BE TREATED AS STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL AND INDIVIDUAL RESPONDENTS WILL NOT BE IDENTIFED.

Please complete the following information:

Name of Respondent	
Job Title	
Name of Organisation	
Address	
Tel no	
Email address	

SECTION 1: GENERAL PERCEPTIONS OF HOMELESSNESS

1. How big a problem do you think homelessness amongst **both men and women** is generally in the Republic of Ireland?

Major Problem	Minor Problem	Not a Problem	Not a Problem

2. How do you think the problem of homelessness today in the Republic of Ireland compares to ten years ago?

Much better now than five years ago	Somewhat better now than five years	About the same	Somewhat worse now than five years ago	Much worse now than five years ago

3. In general, do you feel that the Government is doing enough to address the problem of homelessness?

Definitely doing enough	Is doing enough	Not doing enough	Definitely not doing enough

4. Overall, do you feel that NGOs (voluntary organisations) are doing enough to alleviate the problem of homelessness?

Definitely doing enough	Is doing enough	Not doing enough	Definitely not doing enough

5. What general housing assistance is available to homeless households in Cork? Tick **all** that apply

	Yes	No
Local authority hostel/shelter		
NGO hostel/shelter		
Bed and breakfast accommodation		
Other – please specify		

6. Thinking about emergency housing resources generally, to what extent would you say that they mainly catered for men, or women, or equally for both?

	Mainly Men	Mainly Women	Equally Both
Local authority hostel/shelter			
NGO hostel/shelter			
Bed and breakfast accommodation			
Other – please specify			

7. What (if any) further emergency housing resources would you like to see?

Further emergency housing resources you would like to see

8. Are there any housing rights services (by this, I mean advice/advocacy services) available to homeless women in Cork?

Yes	Please go to question (9) below
No	Please continue to question (10)and (11)

9. Who provides these housing rights services?

	Yes	No
Local authority		
NGO		
Church		
Other. Please specify		

10. In your view, are the housing rights services in Cork effective?

	Very effective	Effective	Not Effective	Not at all Effective
Local authority				
NGO				
Church				
Other				

11. In general, do these housing rights services differ in any way to whose provided for mainly homeless men?

Yes	Please go to question (12) below
No	Please proceed to question (13)

12. What is the main difference?

13. Are you aware of any systems specifically designed to **prevent** homelessness amongst women in Cork? By 'systems' I mean organisational policies or practices which seek to prevent homelessness; these may include: good referral procedures, implementation of best practice, effective interagency networks.

Yes	
No	

14. Who are these preventative services provided by? Tick all that apply.

	Yes	No
Local authority		
NGO		
Church		
Other. Please specify		

15. To what extent do you consider these services to be effective?

	Very effective	Effective	Not effective	Not at all effective
Local authority				
NGO				
Church				
Other. Please specify				

16. In general, do these preventative services differ in any way to whose provided for mainly homeless men?

Yes	Please go to question (17) below
No	Please proceed to question (18)

17. What is the main difference?

SECTION 2: PRIMARY TRIGGERS (TRIGGERS MEANING MAIN REASONS) TO HOMELESSNESS: MEN AND WOMEN

18. In your view, which of the following factors (which exclude the provision of decent, affordable accommodation) do you think are likely to be **primary triggers** (primary triggers meaning main reasons) likely to cause homelessness amongst both men and women? Please tick all that apply.

	Yes	No
Poverty		
Dependence on state benefits		
Relationship/marital breakdown with partner		
Being asked to leave by friends/ family		
Domestic violence		
Harassment from outside the home (former partner, neighbour)		
Repossession caused by rent arrears		
Repossession caused mortgage arrears		
Repossession for other reasons e.g. landlords wants possession of property to re-let for higher rent		
Discharge from institutions e.g. psychiatric hospital, prison or offenders centre		
Having principal childcare responsibilities, thereby limiting employment opportunities		
Being a single income household		
Entering the country as a refugee		
Becoming a lone parent family as a result of relationship breakdown, domestic violence or bereavement		

19. From all the triggers (that is, reasons) to homelessness given above (which exclude the further provision of decent, affordable accommodation), which would you choose as the main triggers (reason) to homelessness in the Republic of Ireland? **Choose one only**

Main Trigger to Homelessness for Men and Women in Cork

20.**Why** do you think this is the main cause of homelessness amongst men and women in Cork?

Why main cause of homelessness amongst men and women in Cork

21. To what extent do you consider the following triggers (primary triggers meaning main reasons) to homelessness apply **mainly** to men, or **mainly** to women, or equally to both? Tick all which apply.

	Mainly men	Mainly women	Equally to both
Poverty			
Dependence on state benefits			
Relationship/marital breakdown with partner			
Being asked to leave by friends/ family			
Domestic violence			
Harassment from outside the home (former partner, neighbour)			
Repossession caused by rent arrears			
Repossession caused mortgage arrears			
Repossession for other reasons e.g. landlords wants possession of property to re-let for higher rent			
Discharge from institutions e.g. psychiatric hospital, prison or offenders centre			
Having principal childcare responsibilities, thereby limiting employment opportunities			
Being a single income household			
Entering the country as a refugee			
Becoming a lone parent family as a result of relationship breakdown, domestic violence or bereavement			

22. When you think of the phenomenon of **street homelessness**, (rough sleeping) do you associate this image mainly with men or with women?

Mainly with men	Please go to question (23) below
Mainly with women	Please proceed to question (24)

23. Why do you associate the image of rough sleeping mainly with men? Please tick all that apply.

	Yes	No
Women generally see rough sleeping as a male terrain and therefore reluctant to be part of this group		
Personal safety and fear of violence is much more of an in issue for women than men; women feel more vulnerable than men as rough sleepers		
Women are more likely than men to stay with friends and family, therefore not forming part of the 'visible homeless' group		
Organisations and agencies dealing with rough sleepers, such as outreach services, tend to place more emphasis on men's rather than women's needs		
Emergency hostel provision as an alternative to rough sleeping is largely geared towards the needs of men; women therefore feel alienated by the environment of emergency accommodation		
It is more socially acceptable for men to be seen literally homeless than it is for women		
Homeless women tend to be accompanied by their children and therefore sleeping rough is not an option		
The state provides adequate support and thus ensures that no woman would ever have to sleep rough		
Other (please specify)		

24. Which organisation do you think should be responsible for minimising homelessness amongst men and women?

	Yes	No
Local authority/municipality		
Central Government		
Non Government Organisations e.g. i.e.not for profit		
The Police		
The Legal Profession		
No organisation – it is up to the individual to resolve the problem		
Other Campaigning/Lobbying Organisations		
Other – please specify		

SECTION 3: WOMEN AND HOMELESSNESS

25. With regard to just **women**, which factor do you think is the **main** trigger to homelessness? Please write one answer only

Main Trigger to Homelessness for Women in Cork

26. **Why** do you think this is the main trigger to women's homelessness in Cork?

Why the Main Trigger to Women's Homelessness in Cork

27. Read the following statements below and state the extent to which you agree or disagree.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Relationship breakdown is one of the most common reasons for homelessness amongst women				
In the event of relationship breakdown, women have fewer housing options than men				
Domestic violence is one of the key causes of homelessness				
Poverty is a key cause of homelessness amongst women				
Legislation designed to protect women experiencing domestic violence is inadequate				
Inequality of income between men and women often means that women have fewer housing options				
Since women tend to be the main carer of dependent children, both their housing and employment opportunities are limited				
In general, single mothers are more likely to depend on social housing than single fathers				

28. When faced with an immediate **housing crisis** i.e. being literally roofless, which of the following accommodation types are women most likely to occupy? Please choose **one** only.

Staying with friends or family	
Hostel/refuge/shelter	
Sleeping rough	
Other: please specify	

29. Do you think there is sufficient emergency accommodation available in Cork to provide shelter for women at the point of housing crisis?

Yes	Please proceed to question (31) below
No	Please go directly to question (30)

30. Thinking about Cork, please indicate the extent to which you agree/disagree with the following statements. Tick **all** which apply.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Government needs to fund more emergency hostel accommodation for women				
Further emergency accommodation for women should be provided by the local authority/municipality				
Further emergency accommodation for women should be provided by Non-Government Organisations				
There is an equal shortage of emergency accommodation for both men and women in the Republic of Ireland				
Individual should resolve homelessness on their own – they should not need help from the government or NGOs				
In general, the allocation of emergency housing resources are more likely to reflect men's rather than women's needs				
There tends to be more temporary accommodation available for men than there is for women				
Housing legislation should be strengthened to ensure that all homeless women have emergency accommodation				
Available accommodation should be more geared towards the needs of women				

31. Do you think that women depend more on specific forms of **emergency** accommodation than men, at the point of **housing crisis**?

	Women Depend More than Men	Men depend more than women	Men and women depend equally
Staying with friends or family			
Hostel/refuge			
Sleeping rough			
Other: please specify			

32. Do you think that women depend more on specific forms of **medium term** accommodation than men?

	Women Depend More than Men	Men depend more than women	Men and women depend equally
Staying with friends or family			
Hostel/refuge			
Sleeping rough			
Other: please specify			

33. Would you say that there is a housing system in place in Cork to measure the numbers of women who are staying with friends and family as an emergency measure? Examples of such a housing system might be 'snap shot' surveys or using other data sources such as the census.

Yes	Please go to question (34) below
No	Please proceed to question (35)

34. In brief, please outline the nature of this system.

Nature of housing system for measuring numbers of women staying with friends/family as an emergency measure

Trigger to Homelessness	**Rank**
Domestic violence	
Relationship/marital breakdown without domestic violence	
Poverty caused by discrimination women experience in employment markets, thereby limiting housing options	
Poverty caused by women's inability to maximise employment opportunities as a result of childcare responsibilities	

36. In the event of a relationship/marital breakdown, which household type is likely to end up financially worse off? Please tick **one box** only.

Women with dependent children	
Women without dependent children	
Men with dependent children	
Men without dependent children	
Relationship/martial breakdown effects men and women financially in equal measures	

37. Thinking about the Cork, please indicate whether you agree or disagree with the following statements:

	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
In general, the local authority/municipality needs do more to help victims of domestic violence				
Further welfare assistance should be made available to lone parents who are made homeless				
The government should develop more comprehensive strategies to tackle poverty amongst women				
Alternative permanent housing solutions should be developed to assist homeless women				

38. **Why** do you think this?

39. To what extent do you think women who are more financially worse off than men effects their ability to obtain owner occupied or private rented accommodation **at the point of housing crisis** i.e. when they are literally roofless in Cork?

To a very large extent	To a large extent	To some extent	No extent at all
Please go to question (40) below	Please proceed to question (41) below		

40. Why do you say this?

41. Which form of housing tenure, as move-on permanent accommodation, are women most likely to occupy after a period of time in emergency accommodation? e.g. shelter, hostel, refuge. Tick **all** which apply.

	Very likely	Likely	Not Likely	Not at all likely
Public (social) housing				
Private rented				
Owner occupied				
Other e.g. housing co-operative				

42. To what extent do you consider women likely to move into the following housing tenure types as longer term accommodation?

	Very suitable	Suitable	Not suitable	Not at all suitable
Public (social) housing				
Private rented				
Owner occupied				
Other e.g. housing co-operative				

43. Which organisations do you think have a responsibility for developing further solutions to address the problem of women's homelessness? Tick **all** that apply.

	Yes	No
Local authority/municipality		
Non Government Organisations		
The Police		
The Legal Profession		
Other Campaigning/Lobbying Organisations		
No organisation – it is up to the individual to resolve the problem		
Other – please specify		

44. In general, to what extent would you say that the following factors inhibit longer term housing options equally apply to either men or women?

	Mainly men	Mainly women	Equally to both	Do not apply
Poverty caused by dependency of state benefits				
Poverty caused by low income				
Being a lone parent				
Other – please specify				

45. In general, after a period of homelessness, which of the following housing tenure groups would you say in general women are most likely to occupy as **long term permanent** accommodation? Tick **one box** only.

	Preferred Housing Tenure
Public (social) housing	
Private rented	
Owner occupied	
Other e.g. housing co-operative	

46. Thinking about the preferred housing tenure type you have cited in question (45), are there any specific factors which inhibit women from **securing** this housing type, following a period of homelessness?

	Yes	No	Sometimes
Poverty caused by dependency of state benefits			
Poverty caused by low income			
Being a lone parent			
Other – please specify			

47. Again, thinking about the preferred housing tenure type you have chosen in question (45), are there any specific factors which inhibit women from **sustaining** this housing tenure type, following a period of homelessness?

	Yes	No	Sometimes
Poverty caused by dependency of state benefits			
Poverty caused by low income			
Being a lone parent			
Other – please specify			

48. Read the following statements and indicate the extent to which you think they are 'true' or 'false'

	True	False
Women and men are able to compete equally in housing markets in Cork		
Public (social) housing is used more frequently by single mothers as move-on accommodation since, in most cases, it is the only available option		
Generally, single mothers have fewer housing options than single fathers because women are concentrated in jobs which are paid less than men		
Women without children generally have fewer housing options than men without children because women are concentrated in jobs which are paid less than men		
The owner occupied sector is very accessible and affordable to most women who are moving out of emergency accommodation		
The private rented sector is very accessible and affordable to most women who are moving out of emergency accommodation		
Single mothers are less likely than single fathers to access decent owner occupied accommodation as childcare responsibilities impinges on their ability to maintain a full time job, thereby limiting the owner occupied sector		
Lone mothers have more problems accessing the private rented sector than lone fathers		
In most cases, women who move into social housing after a period of homeless report that they are satisfied with their accommodation.		
Women who previously have been homeless use social housing as a 'stepping stone' to owner occupied accommodation		
Women who previously have been homeless use social housing as a 'stepping stone' to private rented accommodation		
Given the choice, most women who previously have been homeless would rather live in owner occupied accommodation		
Given the choice, most women who previously have been homeless would rather live in private rented accommodation		
Women who do not have a male (as distinct from a female) earning partner are likely to have fewer housing options since men tend to earn more than women.		

49. In your opinion, are women more likely than men to live in poverty?

Yes	If yes, please answer questions (50) – (52) below.
No	Please proceed to question (53)

50. Which out of the following groups of women do you think are **most** likely to live in poverty? Tick **one** box only.

Single mothers with dependent children	Single women without children

51. To what extent do you think living in poverty limits women's housing options?

Very much limits options	Limits options	Does not really limit	Does not limit at all

52. Which organisations do you think have a responsibility to deal with poverty amongst women?

	Yes	No
Local authority/municipality		
Central government		
The welfare state through further welfare benefits		
The Legal Profession		
Campaigning/Lobbying Organisations		
Other Non Government Organisations		
No organisation – it is up to the individual to resolve the problem		
Other – please specify		

53. Overall, would you say that women who have already secured accommodation are more marginalised within housing markets in Cork , when compared to men,? (by marginalisation, I mean segregation in poor accommodation as a result of housing inequality)

Yes	Please answer question (54) -
No	Please proceed to question (55)

54. Which of the following factors do you think significantly contribute to women's marginalisation within housing markets in Cork? By marginalisation within housing markets, I mean any factor housing markets which inhibits women from fully engaging in the housing options available.

	Mainly men	Mainly women	Equally to both
Poverty			
Dependence on state benefits			
Relationship/marital breakdown with partner			
Being asked to leave by friends/ family			
Domestic violence			
Harassment from outside the home (former partner, neighbour)			
Repossession caused by rent arrears			
Repossession caused mortgage arrears			
Repossession for other reasons e.g. landlords wants possession of property to re-let for higher rent			
Discharge from institutions e.g. psychiatric hospital, prison or offenders centre			
Having principal childcare responsibilities, thereby limiting employment opportunities			
Being a single income household			
Entering the country as a refugee			
Becoming a lone parent family as a result of relationship breakdown, domestic violence or bereavement			

55. Overall, considering the level of emergency homelessness provision in Cork such as hostels and shelters, would you say that existing provision caters for men or for women? Please tick **one** box only.

Caters mainly for men	Caters mainly for women	Caters equally for both men and women

56. Which, if any, of the following groups, would you say are over-represented in local authority housing in Cork?

	Over represented	Not over represented	Don't Know
Single men without children, unemployed and claiming state benefit			
Single men without children in full time employment			
Lone mothers with dependent children unemployed and claiming welfare benefits			
Lone mothers with dependent children in full time employment			
Lone mothers with dependent in part time employment			
Single fathers with dependent children in full time employment			
Single fathers with dependent children unemployed and claiming welfare benefits			
Couples with dependent children, both in full-time employment			
Couples with dependent children, unemployed and claiming state benefits			

57. From the classifications below, please rank which groups are most likely to be over represented in local authority housing in cork. Please choose **3 only**, 1 = most likely, 3 = least likely)

	Rank
Single men without children, unemployed and claiming state benefit	
Single men without children in full time employment	
Lone mothers with dependent children, unemployed and claiming welfare benefits	
Lone mothers with dependent children in full time employment	
Lone mothers with dependent in part time employment	
Single fathers with dependent children in full time employment	
Single fathers with dependent children unemployed and claiming welfare benefits	
Couples with dependent children, both in full-time employment	
Couples with dependent children, unemployed and claiming state benefits	

SECTION 4: DEFINITIONS OF HOMELESSNESS

58. Are you aware of the legal definition of homelessness as contained in the Housing Act 1988 (homelessness legislation)?

Yes	
No	

59. Do you feel that this definition is adequate?

Yes	Please go to question (65)
No	Please answer questions (60) to (64)

60. What would you say is the main limitation(s) of this definition?

61. Would you say that the local authority/municipality maximised the potential of the Housing Act 1988 on behalf of homelessness groups in Cork?

Yes	
No	

62. Is the local authority/municipality able to exercise any discretion on how it interprets this legislation at a local level?

Yes	
No	

63. Would you say the legislation is more responsive to women or men? Tick **<u>one box</u>** only

More responsive to women	More responsive to men	Responsive to both man and women equally
Please go to question (65)	Please go to question (64) below	Please go to question (65)

64. Are there any changes you feel are required to make the legislation more responsive to women?

Changes which would make the homelessness legislation more responsive to women

65. Are you aware of any definition of homelessness used by non-government organisations (NGOs)?

Yes	Please answer questions (66) – (67)
No	Please proceed directly to Section 5

66. In general, would you say that the definition used by NGOs is more liberal that the legal definition used by local authorities?

Yes	
No	

67. Which definition (either the legal definition or the NGO definition) would you say it the most appropriate for homelessness households in Cork? Please tick **one** box only.

Legal definition	
NGO definition	

SECTION 5: RIGHTS TO EMERGENCY ACCOMMODATION

68. To what extent do homeless households generally have **legal** rights to emergency accommodation, if they are literally homeless?

To a Large Extent	To an Extent	Not Very Much	Not at All

69. To what extent to organisations have **the capacity** to provide temporary accommodation to households who are literally homeless?

To a Large Extent	To an Extent	Not Very Much	Not at All

70. Which organisation is most likely to provide this accommodation?

	Yes	No
Local authority		
NGO		
Church		
Other. Please specify		

71. Would you say that having dependent children increases the chance of acquiring emergency accommodation?

Yes	
No	

SECTION 6: DOMESTIC VIOLENCE: LEGISLATION AND POLICIES

72. Thinking about the legislation in place designed to protect women who are victims of domestic violence, how effective do you think it is?

Very effective	Not very effective	Not effective	Not at all effective

73. Read following statements below and indicate whether you agree or disagree

	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Injunction (barring orders/ exclusion orders) are an effective way to protect women from a violent partner				
Courts always issue adequate punishment for men who break the terms of an injunction (barring order/exclusion order)				
Women who are victims of domestic have confidence that the judicial system will issue an appropriate punishment to violent partners				
It is easy for women to apply for and be awarded an injunction in cases of domestic violence				
In general, the police are effective in dealing with cases of domestic violence				
Granting an injunction to evict a violent partner can sometimes place a woman at greater risk of violence				
Women are reluctant to press charges against a violent partner, even in instances where the violence has been for many years and has been severe				
Overall, advice and advocacy agencies are very skilled in informing women of their rights when dealing with victims of domestic violence				
The local authority/municipality provides promote and appropriate assistance to victims of domestic violence				
The presence of children is a significant factor in **deterring** women from pressing charges against a violent partner				
The presence of children is a significant factor in **encouraging** women from pressing charges against a violent partner				
Women who are victims of domestic violence are able to secure emergency accommodation e.g. shelters, refuges, hostels very easily				
Women who are victims of domestic violence are able to secure appropriate, decent longer term accommodation				
Fear of homelessness deters women from leaving a violent partner				

74. Do you think the law designed to protect victims of domestic violence needs to be strengthened?

Yes	Please answer question (75) -
No	Please go directly to question (76)

75. Which organisations do you think should be responsible for strengthening the law to protect victims of domestic violence? Tick **all** which apply.

	Yes	No
Local authority/municipality		
Central Government		
The Police		
The Legal Profession		
Non Government Organisations		
No organisation – it is up to the individual to resolve the problem		
Other Campaigning/Lobbying Organisations		
Other – please specify		

76. Overall, would you say that local agencies collaborated effectively to meet the housing and other needs of women who experience domestic violence?

Yes	Please proceed to Section 7
No	Please go directly to question (77)

77. What do you think is needed to promote more effective inter-agency collaboration?

Ways to Promote More Effective Inter-Agency Collaboration

SECTION 7: OVERALL ASSESSMENT OF HOMELESSNESS SYSTEMS FOR WOMEN

78. Considering all the issues which have been raised, how effective overall do you think the system for dealing with homelessness amongst women is in Cork? Please tick **one** box only

Very Effective	Effective	Not Effective	Not At All Effective

79. How responsive do you believe the following institutions are when dealing with women **at the point of housing crisis** i.e. when they are literally homeless?

	Very responsive	Fairly responsive	Not responsive	Not At All Responsive
Municipality				
Non Government Organisations				
Central Government				
The Legal Profession (Administering Injunctions/Exclusion Orders/ Barring Orders				

80. How responsive do you believe the following organisations are in providing **permanent accommodation** for women who previously have experienced homelessness?

	Very responsive	Fairly responsive	Not responsive	Not At All Responsive
Municipality				
Non Government Organisations				
Central Government				
Private Sector Housing Market				

81. How responsive do you believe the following organisations are in **preventing** homelessness amongst women?

	Very Responsive	Fairly Responsive	Not responsive	Not At All Responsive
Local authority/Municipality				
Non Government Organisations				
Central Government				
Private sector housing market				

82. How responsive do you believe the following organisations are in **alleviating poverty** amongst women?

	Very Responsive	Fairly Responsive	Not Responsive	Not At All Responsive
Municipality				
Non Government Organisations				
Central Government				
Private sector				

83. Thinking about all these points together, what is the main institutional change needed in the **short term** to effectively meet homeless women's housing needs?

Main Institutional Change Needed Short Term

84. What is the main institutional change needed in the **long term?**

Main Institutional Change Needed Long Term

85. Is there anything else you would like to add?

THANK YOU FOR PARTICIPATING IN THIS EVALUATION, YOUR HELP IS VERY MUCH APPRECIATED.

SECTION 8: ABOUT YOU AND YOUR ORGANISATION

What type of organisation are you employed by? Tick **one box** only

Local Authority Municipality - Housing	
Local Authority Municipality - Health	
Local Authority Municipality – other department	
Non Government Organisation	
Solicitor	
Academic Institution	
Other – please specify	

How long have you worked there? Tick **one box** only

Between 1 month and 1 year	
2 – 4 years	
5 – 9 years	
10 years or more	

Have you ever worked directly with women who are homeless? e.g. in a hostel, advice agency. Tick **one box** only

Yes	
No	

THANK YOU FOR COMPLETING THIS QUESTIONNAIRE. FOR INFORMATION ON WHENTHE FINDINGS WILL BE PUBLISHED, PLEASE CONTACT:

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APPENDIX F: QUANTITATIVE QUESTIONNAIRE - LYON RESEARCH RESPONDENTS

LES FEMMES ET L'EXCLUSION

WOMEN AND EUROPEAN HOMELESSNESS SYSTEMS

CASE STUDY COUNTRY – FRANCE

For further information, please contact:

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PREMIERE PARTIE: PERCEPTIONS GENERALES SUR L'EXCLUSION

1. Comment estimez-vous les problèmes de l'Exclusion **<u>touchant aussi bien</u>** les hommes que les femmes en France?

Problème majeur	Problème mineur	Ce n'est pas un problème	Ce n'est pas un problème

2. Comment estimez-vous le problème de l'Exclusion aujourd'hui en France comparé à la situation il y a dix ans?

Bien meilleure aujourd'hui qu'il y a cinq ans	Plutôt mieux aujourd'hui qu'il y a cinq ans	A peu près la même	Plutôt pire aujourd'hui qu'il y a cinq ans	Bien pire aujourd'hui qu'il y a cinq ans

3. D'une façon générale, pensez-vous que le Gouvernement fait assez pour résoudre le problème de l'Exclusion?

Sans aucun doute assez	En fait assez	N'en fait pas assez	N'en fait absoluement pas assez

4. Dans l'ensemble, pensez-vous que les ONG* en font assez pour réduire le problème de l'Exclusion?

Sans aucun doute assez	En fait assez	N'en fait pas assez	N'en fait absoluement pas assez

*Organisation Non Gouvernementales

5. Quelle aide sociale au logement est à disposition des personnes touchées par l'Exclusion a Lyon? SVP, veuillez cocher autant que nécessaire.

	Oui	Non
Foyers/Abris des Collectivités Locales		
Foer/Abri des ONG		
Chambres d'Hôtes		
Autres-SVP, veuillez préciser.		

* ONG: Organisations Non Gouvernementales

6. Lorsqu'il s'agit d'hébergements d'urgence, dans quelle mesure diriez-vous qu'ils sont principalement délivrés aux hommes ou aux femmes ou de manière egale entre les deux?

	Principalement aux hommes	Principalement aux femmes	Egalement entre les deux
Foyers/Abris des Collectivités Locales			
Foer/Abri des ONG			
Chambres d'Hôtes			
Autres-SVP, veuillez préciser.			

* ONG: Organisations Non Gouvernementales

7. S'ils existent, quels autres types d'hébergements d'urgence voudriez-vous trouver à disposition?

Autres hébergements d'urgence à disposition

8. Existe-t-il des services, en France, supervisant les droits aux logements (en termes de conseils et de légitimité) en faveur des femmes en situation d'exclusion sociale?

Oui	SVP, veuillez répondre à la question 9 ci-dessous
Non	SVP, veuillez poursuivre directement a la question X

9. Qui supervise ces services de droits aux logements?

	Oui	Non
Les Collectivités Locales		
Les ONG		
L'Eglise		
Autres-SVP, veuillez préciser.		

10. A votre avis, pensez-vous que les services de droits aux logements de Lyon sont efficaces?

	Très efficaces	Efficaces	Pas très efficaces	Pas efficaces du tout
Les Collectivités Locales				
Les ONG				
L'Eglise				
Autres				

11. En général, est-ce que ces services d'aides sociales diffèrent de ceux mis a disposition des hommes en situation d'exclusion?

Oui	SVP, veuillez répondre à la question 9 ci-dessous
Non	

12. Quelle est la principale différence?

13. Connaissez-vous certains services spécialement créés **pour prévenir** l'Exclusion sociale des femmes? Par services nous entendons des "politiques organisationnelles" qui gèrent la prévention de l'Exclusion telles que le bon cheminement des procédures, l'application de procédures de qualité…

Oui	
Non	

14. Par qui sont délivrés ces services?

	Yes	No
Les Collectivités Locales		
Les ONG		
L'Eglise		
Autres-SVP, veuillez préciser.		

15. Comment jugeriez-vous l'efficacité de ces services?

	Très efficaces	Efficaces	Pas très efficaces	Pas efficaces du tout
Les Collectivités Locales				
Les ONG				
L'Eglise				
Autres-SVP, veuillez préciser.				

16. En général, est-ce que ces services d'aide préventive diffèrent de ceux mis a disposition principalement pour les sans-abris hommes?

Oui	SVP, veuillez répondre à la question 9 ci-dessous
Non	

17. Quelle est la principale différence?

DEUXIEME PARTIE: PRINCIPALES CAUSES D'EXCLUSION DES HOMMES ET DES FEMMES

18. A votre avis, lequels des facteurs suivants (qui empêchent l'accès à un logement décent et financièrement abordable) pensez-vous susceptibles d'être les **causes principales** d'Exclusion parmi les hommes et les femmes?

	Oui	Non
Pauvreté		
Dépendance vis-à-vis des bénéfices d'Etat		
Rupture relationnelle ou maritale avec un partenaire		
Etre sommé de quitter ses amis ou sa famille		
Violence conjugale		
Harcèlement exterieur (partenaire, voisinage…)		
Saisie due a des arriérés de loyer		
Saisie due a des arriérés de crédits		
Saisie pour d'autres raisons (ex: Propriétaires voulant reprendre le logement pour le relouer plus cher ensuite)		
Renvoi, libération d'hôpitaux psychiatriques, prisons, centres de détention		
Assumer les responsabilités d'enfants à charge d'où la limitation des opportunités d'emploi		
Etre la seule source de revenus a la maison		
Avoir un statut de réfugiédans le pays d'accueil		
Devenir l'unique parent dans la famille à la suite d'une rupture, de violences conjugales ou d'un deuil		

19. Parmi toutes les raisons citées ci-dessus (qui empêchent l'accès à un logement décent et financièrement abordable), laquelle choisiriez-vous comme la principale source d'exclusion en France? SVP, ne sélectionnez qu'**une seule** réponse..

Principale source d'exclusion des hommes et des femmes en France

20. **Pourquoi** pensez-vous que cette raison constitue la principale cause d'exclusion chez les hommes et les femmes a Lyon?

Pourquoi est-ce la principale cause d'exclusion chez les hommes et les femmes a Lyon?

21. Dans quelle mesure estimeriez-vous que les causes d'Exclusion ci-dessous s'appliquent **plutôt** aux hommes, **plutôt** aux femmes ou aux deux de façon égale?

	Principalement aux hommes	Principalement aux femmes	Aux hommes et aux femmes de façon égale
Pauvreté			
Dépendance vis-à-vis des bénéfices d'Etat			
Rupture relationnelle ou maritale avec un partenaire			
Etre sommé de quitter ses amis ou sa famille			
Violence conjugale			
Harcèlement exterieur (partenaire, voisinage…)			
Saisie due a des arriérés de loyer			
Saisie due a des arriérés de crédits			
Saisiepour d'autres raisons (ex: Propriétaires voulant reprendre le logement pour le relouer plus cher ensuite)			
Renvoi, libération d'hôpitaux psychiatriques, prisons, centres de détention			
Assumer les responsabilités d'enfants à charge d'où la limitation des opportunités d'emploi			
Etre la seule source de revenus a la maison			
Avoir un statut de réfugiédans le pays d'accueil			
Devenir l'unique parent dans la famille à la suite d'une rupture, de violences conjugales ou d'un deuil			

22. Lorsqu'est évoqué le phénomène de l'Exclusion (sans abris **dormant à même le sol**), attriburiez-vous cette image plutôt à des hommes qu'à des femmes?

Principalement aux hommes	SVP, veuillez répondre à la question ci-dessous
Principalement aux femmes	

23. Pourquoi associez-vous l'image de sans-abris dormant dans la rue aux hommes?

	Oui	Non
Les femmes voient généralement un lit dans la rue comme une affaire d'hommes et sont, en conséquence, réticentes a prendre part au groupe.		
La sécuritépersonnelle et la peur de la violence sont des critères plus convaiquant chez les femmes qu e chez les hommes. Ces dernières se sentnet plus vulnérables que les hommes pour dormir dans la rue.		
Les femmes sont plus disposées à rester chez des amis ou avec la famille, ainsi elles ne prennent pas part de façon visible au groupe d'exclusion.		
Les organisations et agences qui s'occupent des sans-abris tels les services de ???????? ont tendance à accorder plus d'importance aux besoin des hommes qu'à ceux des femmes.		
Les foyers d'urgence comme une alternative au lits dans la rue sont largement orientés vers les besoins des hommes. Ainsi les femmes se sentent excluent de l'environnement d'hébergement d'urgence….		
C'est plus socialement accepté par les hommes que par les femmes d'être sans-abri.		
Les femmes en situation d'exclusion sont souvent en charge de leur(s) enfant(s) et dormir dans la rue n'est pas envisageable.		
L'Etat fournit des aides adaptées et s'assure ainsi que les femmes n'auront jamais à coucher dehors.		
Autres - SVP, veuillez préciser.		

24. Quelles organisations, pensez-vous, devraient être responsable de la réduction de l'exclusion des hommes et des femmes?

	Oui	Non
Les Collectivités Locales/ les municipalités		
Le Gouvernement		
Les Oraganisations Non Gouvernementales		
Les forces de police		
Les professions juridiques		
Aucune organisation-chacun devrait résoudre personnellement ses problèmes		
Autres organisations de manifestation et les lobbies		
Autres - SVP, veuillez préciser		

TROISIEME PARTIE: LES FEMMES ET L'EXCLUSION

25. En ne considérant que la situation des **femmes**, quel facteur pensez-vous être la **principale** cause d'exclusion sociale?

Principale cause d'exclusion des femmes à Lyon

26. **Pourquoi** pensez-vous que cette raison est la principale cause d'exclusion chez les femmes à Lyon?

Pourquoi est-ce la principale cause d'exclusion des femmes à Lyon

27. En lisant les raisons évoquées ci-dessous, établissez dans quelle mesure vous êtes d'accord ou pas.

	Totalement d'accord	D'accord	Pas d'accord	Totalement en désaccord
La rupture d'une relation représente une des causes les plus courantes d'exclusion chez les femmes.				
Dans le cas d'une rupture, les femmes ont moins d'opportunités de logements que les hommes.				
La violence conjugale est une des raisons-clefs de l'exclusion.				
La puvreté est une des raisons-clefs de l'exclusion chez les femmes.				
La législation supposée protéger les femmes de la violence conjugale est inadaptée.				
Les inégalités de revenus entre hommes et femmes expriment souvent que les femmes ont mois d'opportunités de logements que les hommes.				
Depuis que les femmes ont la garde de leur(s) enfant(s), leurs opportunites de logements et de travail sont limitées.				
En général, les mères seules ont plus tendance à dépendre des logements sociaux que les pères seuls.				

28. Lorsqu'elles ont a faire face à une crise **immédiate du logement** (à savoir, être littéralement sans toît), lequel de ces types d'hébergements les femmes sont-elles le plus amenées à occuper?

Rester avec des amis ou la famille	
Foyer/ refuge/abri	
Dormir dehors	
Autres – SVP, veuillez préciser.	

29. Pensez-vous qu'il existe suffisamment d'hébergements d'accueil disponibles à Lyon pour fournir un refuge aux femmes en situation de **crise sociale du logement**?

Oui	SVP, veuillez répondre à la question 30 ci-dessous
Non	SVP, veuillez poursuivre directement a la question X

30. En considérant la ville de Lyon, veuillez SVP indiquer dans quelle mesure vous êtes d'accord ou non avec les propositions suivantes. Cochez **autant** de propositions qu'il vous semble utiles.

	Totalement d'accord	D'accord	Pas d'accord	Totalement en désaccord
Le Gouvernement devrait mieux financer les foyers d'hébergement d'urgence pour les femmes.				
Plus d'hébergements pour les femmes devraient être créés par les Collectivités Locales et les municipalités.				
Plus d'hébergements d'urgence pour les femmes devraient être créés par les ONG*.				
Il existe une crise du logement similaire chez les hommes et chez les femmes à Lyon.				
Chacun devrait résoudre l'Exclusion par soi-même. Personne ne devrait avoir besoin de l'aide du Gouvernement ou des ONG*.				
En général, l'attribution des ressources en hébergement d'urgence sont plus le reflet des besoins masculins que feminins.				
Il y a tendance à avoir plus d'hébergement temporaires pour les hommes que pour les femmes.				
La législation en matière de logement devrait être plus strictement orientée en faveur des besoins des femmes.				
Les hébergements disponibles devraient être plus orientésen faveur des besoins des femmes.				

31. Pensez-vous que les femmes dépendent plus de certains types d'hébergement d'urgence que les hommes dans un contexte de **crise sociale** du logement?

	Les femmes en dépendent plus que les hommes	Les hommes en dépendent plus que les femmes	Les hommes et les femmes en d♪0pendent de la même façon
Rester avec des amis ou la famille			
Foyer/ refuge			
Dormir dehors			
Autres – SVP, veuillez préciser.			

32. Pensez-vous que les femmes dépendent plus des logements spéciaux à moyen terme que les hommes?

	Les femmes en dépendent plus que les hommes	Les hommes en dépendent plus que les femmes	Les hommes et les femmes en d♪0pendent de la même façon
Rester avec des amis ou la famille			
Foyer/ refuge			
Dormir dehors			
Autres – SVP, veuillez préciser.			

33. Diriez-vous qu'il existe un Système du Logement en place à Lyon pour évaluer le nombre de femmes qui restent avec la famille et les amis lorsqu'elles sont dans l'extême besoin?

Oui	SVP, veuillez répondre à la question 34 ci-dessous
Non	

34. Veuillez citer brièvement la nature de ce Système?

Nature du Système en place pour les femmes restant chez leurs proches lorsqu'elles sont dans l'extrême besoin.

35. En vous basant sur votre experience professionnelle, lequel de ces principales raisons citées ci-dessous sont les causes les plus fréquentes d'Exclusion des femmes? Veuillez SVP attribuer une échelle de 1 à 4 telle que:

1= Le plus fréquent et 4= Le moins fréquent.

Pricipales causes d'Exclusion	**Echelle**
Violence conjugale	
Séparation/ rupture sans violence conjugale	
Pauvreté causée par la discriminationde femmes sur le marché de l'Emploi; consécutivement, limitation des choix d'hébergements	
Pauvreté causée par l'incapacitédes femmes à augmenter leurs opportunités du fait d'avoir des enfants à charge	

36. Dans le cas d'une séparation/ d'un divorce, laquelle des situations familiales est financièrement la pire pour un foyer? Veuillez SVP ne cocher qu'une seule case.

Femmes avec enfants à charge	
Femmes sans enfant à charge	
Hommes avec enfants à charge	
Hommes sans enfant à charge	
Les effets d'une rupture sont les mêmes quel que soit le sexe	

37. En se basant sur la ville de Lyon, veuillez indiquer si vous êtes d'accord ou non avec les propositions suivantes:

	Totalement d'accord	D'accord	Pas d'accord	Totalement en désaccord
En général, les CollectivitésLocales et les municipalités ont besoin de faire plus pour aider les victimes de violences conjugales				
Une plus ample assistance pour le "bien être" devrait être mise à disposition des parents seuls sans-abris				
Le Gouvernement devrait mieux développer et ce de façon claire, les stratégies destinées à supprimer la pauvreté des femmes.				
Des alternatives définitives de logement devraient être développées pour venir en aide aux femmes sans-abri.				

38. **Pourquoi** pensez-vous cela?

39. Dans quelle proportion jugez-vous que la situation financière des femmes, lorsqu'elle est pire que celle des hommes (dans une **extrême nécessité**, c'est à dire sans toît), a des effets sur leur capacité à obtenir un logement en etant propriétaire ou dans le secteur de la location privée?

Dans une très large mesure	Dans une large mesure	Dans une certaine mesure	Sans effet
Veuillez SVP vous	Veuillez SVP vous		

reporter à la question 40 ci-dessous	reporter à la question 41 ci-dessous		

40. Pourquoi pensez-vous cela?

41. Quel type de logement comme l'emménagement permanent les femmes sont-elle le plus susceptible d'occuper après une période de séjour en hébergement d'urgence (ex: abri, foyer, refuge)? SVP, veuillez cocher **autant** qu'approprié.

	Forte possibilité	Possible	Faible possibilité	Pas du tout possible
Logements sociaux à fonds publics				
Secteur de la location privée				
Propriétaire du logement occupé				
Autres logements coopératifs				

42. Dans quelle mesure estimez-vous les types de logements suivants adaptés ou non, aux femmes ayant été précédemment sans-abri et qui emménagent dans un logement pour le long terme?

	Très adapté	Adapté	Pas adapté	Pas du tout adapté
Logements sociaux à fonds publics				
Secteur de la location privée				
Propriétaire du logement occupé				
Autres logements coopératifs				

43. Quelles organisations, pensez-vous, ont la possibilité de développer de plus amples solutions pour résoudre le problème de l'Exclusion des femmes? SVP, veuillez cocher **toutes** les propositions qu'il vous semble s'y appliquer.

	Oui	Non
Les Collectivités Locales/ les municipalités		
Le Gouvernement		
Les Oraganisations Non Gouvernementales		
Les forces de police		
Les professions juridiques		
Aucune organisation-chacun devrait résoudre personnellement ses problèmes		
Autres organisations de manifestation et les lobbies		
Autres - SVP, veuillez préciser		

44. D'une manière générale, dans quelle mesure les facteurs suivant qui "gèlent" les choix des logements à long terme s'appliquent-ils aux hommes et/ou aux femmes?

	Principalement aux hommes	Principalement aux femmes	De façon égale aux deux	Ne s'y applique pas
La pauvreté engendrée par la dépendance aux aides de l'Etat				
La pauvreté causée par de faible revenus				
Etre parent seul				
Autres - SVP, veuillez préciser				

45. D'une manière générale, après avoir été sans-abri, duquel de ces types de logements suivants diriez-vous que les femmes préfèreraient occuper **de façon permanente et à long terme**? Veuillez SVP ne cocher qu'**une seule** proposition.

	Installation préférentielle dans
Logements sociaux à fonds publics	
Secteur de la location privée	
Propriétaire du logement occupé	
Autres logements coopératifs	

46. Y a t-il ci-dessous certains facteurs empêchant les femmes de **réserver** le type d'hébergement qu'elles souhaiteraient (type de logement que vous avez sélctionné à la question 45) et cela, après une période d'exclusion?

	Oui	Non	Parfois
La pauvreté engendrée par la dépendance aux aides de l'Etat			
La pauvreté causée par de faible revenus			
Etre parent seul			
Autres - SVP, veuillez préciser			

47. Y a t-il ci-dessous certains facteurs empêchant les femmes de **se permettre de maintenir** le type d'hébergement qu'elles souhaiteraient (type de logement que vous avez sélctionné à la question 45) et cela, après une période d'exclusion?

	Oui	Non	Parfois
La pauvreté engendrée par la dépendance aux aides de l'Etat			
La pauvreté causée par de faible revenus			
Etre parent seul			
Autres - SVP, veuillez préciser			

48. Veuillez lire les propositions suivantes et indiquer dans quelle mesure vous les trouvez “vraies” ou “fausses”:

	Vrai	Faux
Femmes et hommes sont sur le même pied d’égalité face au marché du logement à Lyon.		
Les logements sociaux à fonds publics sont plus fréquemment utilisés comme logements d’installation car dans la majorité des cas, ils ne représentent que la seule option disponible.		
Généralement, les femmes sans enfant disposent de moins de possibilités d’accès aux logements que les hommes sans enfant car les femmes se concentrent plus sur des professions moins rémunérées que celles des hommes.		
Devenir propriétaire est très accessible et abordable pour les femmes sortant d’un hébergement d’urgence.		
Les mères seules sont moins susceptibles que les pères seuls d’accéder au secteur du logement en tant que propriétaire car les responsabilités d’un enfant à charge empiètent sur leur capacité à supporter un emploi su temps plein, limitant ainsi le secteur en question.		
Les mères seules ont plus de problèmes pour accéder au secteur privé de la location que la plupart des pères seuls.		
Dans la majorité des cas, les femmes qui emménagent dans un logement social après avoir subi l’Exclusion semblent satisfaites de leur logement.		
Les femmes aui ont un passé de sans-abri se servent du secteur du logement social telle une “pierre de gué” au logement en tant que propriétaire.		
Les femmes aui ont un passé de sans-abri se servent du secteur du logement social telle une “pierre de gué” à la location privée.		
Lorsqu’elles ont le choix, les femmes ayant subi l’Exclusion, pourraient plutôt vivre dans un logement dont elles sont propriétaires.		
Lorsqu’elles ont le choix, les femmes ayant subi l’Exclusion, pourraient plutôt vivre dans un logement en location privée.		
Les femmes sans un partenaire (masculin) source de revenus, sont moins susceptibles d’avoir des choix de logements car les hommes ont tendance à gagner plus que les femmes.		

49. A votre avis, les femmes sont-elles plus susceptibles de vivre dans la pauvreté que les hommes?

Oui	SVP, veuillez répondre aux questions 50 à 52 ci-dessous
Non	SVP, veuillez poursuivre directement a la question 53

50. Lequel, parmi les groupes suivants de femmes, est **le plus** susceptible de vivre dans la pauvreté?

Meres seules avec enfants à charge	Meres seules sans enfant à charge

51. Dans quelle(s) mesure(s) pensez-vous que vivre dans la pauvreté limite le choix des options d'hébergement?

Limite beaucoup les options d'hébergement	Limite les options d'hébergement	Ne limite pas vraiment les options d'hébergement	Ne limite pas du tout les options d'hébergement

52. Quelles organisations, pensez-vous, sont responsables pour résorber la pauvret♪0 des femmes?

	Oui	Non
Les Collectivités Locales/ les municipalités		
Le Gouvernement		
Les Oraganisations Non Gouvernementales		
Les forces de police		
Les professions juridiques		
Aucune organisation-chacun devrait résoudre personnellement ses problèmes		
Autres organisations de manifestation et les lobbies		
Autres - SVP, veuillez préciser		

53. D'une manière générale, diriez-vous que les femmes qui se sont déjà assurées un logement, et ce comparéaux hommes, sont plus marginalisées sur le marché de l'immobilier en France? Par marginalisation, nous entendons la ségrégation dans des logements insalubres comme résultat de l'inégalit♪0face aux logements.

Oui	SVP, veuillez répondre aux questions 54 ci-dessous
Non	SVP, veuillez poursuivre directement a la question 55

54. Lequel des facteurs suivants, pensez-vous, contribue de façon sinificative à la marginalisation des femmes sur le marché du logement à Lyon?

	Principalement aux hommes	Principalement aux femmes	De façon égale aux deux
Pauvreté			
Dépendance vis-à-vis des bénéfices d'Etat			
Rupture relationnelle ou maritale avec un partenaire			
Etre sommé de quitter ses amis ou sa famille			
Violence conjugale			
Harcèlement exterieur (partenaire, voisinage…)			
Saisie due a des arriérés de loyer			
Saisie due a des arriérés de crédits			
Saisie pour d'autres raisons (ex: Propriétaires voulant reprendre le logement pour le relouer plus cher ensuite)			
Renvoi, libération d'hôpitaux psychiatriques, prisons, centres de détention			
Assumer les responsabilités d'enfants à charge d'où la limitation des opportunités d'emploi			
Etre la seule source de revenus a la maison			
Avoir un statut de réfugiédans le pays d'accueil			
Devenir l'unique parent dans la famille à la suite d'une rupture, de violences conjugales ou d'un deuil			

55. D'une manière générale, considérant l'état de provision de logements d'urgence à Lyon (tels foyers et abris), diriez-vous de cette provision qu'elle est plutôt mise à disposition des hommes et/ ou des femmes?

Plutôt mis à disposition de hommes	Plutôt mis à disposition des femmes	Mis à disposition de hommes et des femmes de la même façon

56. Desquels, s'ils existent, parmi les groupes suivants, diriez-vous qu'ils sont sur-représentés au sein des logements sociaux à Lyon?

	Sur-représentés	Pas sur-représentés	Ne sait pas
Pères célibataires sans enfant, sans emploi et demandant une aide de l'Etat.			
Pères célibataires sans enfant avec un emploi à temps plein			
Mères seules avec enfant(s) à charge, sans emploi et demandant une aide de l'Etat.			
Mères seules avec enfant(s) à charge et avec un emploi à temps plein			
Mères seules avec enfant(s) à charge et avec un emploi à temps partiel			
Pères seuls avec enfant(s) à charge et avec un emploi à temps plein			
Pères seuls avec enfant(s) à charge, sans emploi et demandant une aide de l'Etat.			
Couples avec enfant(s) à charge et avec un emploi à temps plein chacun.			

Couples avec enfant(s) à charge, sans emploi et demandant une aide de l'Etat.			

57. Parmi les classes ci-dessous, veuillez classer les groupes qui sont sur-représentés dans le secteur des logements sociaux en France. Veuillez n'en sélectionner que **trois seulement** tels que:

1= le plus susceptible d'être sur-représenté
3= le moins susceptible d'être sur-représenté

	Classement
Pères célibataires sans enfant, sans emploi et demandant une aide de l'Etat.	
Pères célibataires sans enfant avec un emploi à temps plein	
Mères seules avec enfant(s) à charge, sans emploi et demandant une aide de l'Etat.	
Mères seules avec enfant(s) à charge et avec un emploi à temps plein	
Mères seules avec enfant(s) à charge et avec un emploi à temps partiel	
Pères seuls avec enfant(s) à charge et avec un emploi à temps plein	
Pères seuls avec enfant(s) à charge, sans emploi et demandant une aide de l'Etat.	
Couples avec enfant(s) à charge et avec un emploi à temps plein chacun.	
Couples avec enfant(s) à charge, sans emploi et demandant une aide de l'Etat.	

QUATRIEME PARTIE: DEFINITIONS DE L'EXCLUSION

58. Etes-vous conscient de la définition de l'Exclusion donnée dans la Loi Besson?

Oui	
Non	

59. Pensez-vous que cette définition est adaptée?

Oui	SVP, veuillez poursuivre directement à la question 65
Non	SVP, veuillez répondre aux questions 60 à 64 ci-dessous

60. Que diriez-vous de la principale limite de cette définition?

61. Diriez-vous que la Collectivité Locale / Municipalité de Lyon maximalisent le potentiel de la Loi Besson au nom des groupes de sans-abris?

Oui	Non

62. Est-ce que la Collectivité Locale / Municipalité sont capable d'exercer leur discrétion sur la façon d'interpréter cette loi au niveau local?

Oui	Non

63. Diriez-vous que le loi est plus en faveur des femmes ou des hommes? Veuillez, SVP ne cocher qu'**une seule** proposition.

Plus en faveur des femmes	Plus en faveur des hommes	S'applique de façon égale aux deux sexes
	SVP, veuillez répondre aux questions 64 ci-dessous	

64. Y a t-il des changements auxquels vous songez pour que la Loi soit plus en faveur des femmes?

Changements envisagés qui modifieraient la loi contre l'Exclusion plus en faveur des femmes

65. Connaissez-vous une définition de l'Exclusion utilisée par les Organisations Non Gouvernementales?

Oui	SVP, veuillez répondre aux questions 66 et 67 ci-dessous
Non	SVP, veuillez poursuivre directement à la partie 5

66. En général, diriez-vous de cette définition utilisée par les ONG qu'elle est plus libérale que celle légale utilisée par les authorités locales et municipalités?

Oui	Non

67.De quelle définition (celle légale ou celle des ONG) diriez-vous qu'elle est la plus adaptée aux foyers sans domiciles fixes à Lyon? SVP, veuillez ne cocher qu'**une seule** proposition.

La définition légale	
La définition des ONG	

CINQUIEME PARTIE: DROITS D'ACCES AUX LOGEMENTS D'URGENCE

68. Dans quelle mesure les foyers sans domicile fixe ont-ils des **droits légaux** d'accès aux hébergements d'urgence?

Dans une très large mesure	Dans une certaine mesure	Très peu	Pas du tout

69. Dans quelle mesure les organisations ont-elles **la possibilité** de mettre à disposition un hébergement temporaire aux foyers, littéralement, sans domicile fixe?

Dans une très large mesure	Dans une certaine mesure	Très peu	Pas du tout

70. Quelles organisations sont plus à même de mettre à disposition ce type d'hébergements?

	Oui	Non
Les authorités locales		
Les ONG*		
L'Eglise		
Autres-SVP veuillez préciser		

*ONG: Organisations Non Gouvernementales

71.Diriez-vous que d'avoir des enfants à charge augmente la possibilité d'acquérir un hébergement d'urgence?

Oui	
Non	

SIXIEME PARTIE: VIOLENCE CONJUGALE, LOI ET REGLEMENTATION

72. En faisant référence à la loi en place pour protéger les victimes de violences conjugales, comment estimeriez-vous son efficacité?

Très efficace	Pas très efficace	Pas efficace	Pas efficace du tout

73. En lisant les propositions suivantes, indiquez si vous êtes d'accord ou non.

	Tout à fait d'accord	D'accord	Pas d'accord	Tout à fait en désaccord
Les injonctions (ordres d'isolement préventifs/ exclusion d'une zone) sont un moyen efficace de protéger les femmes d'un partenaire violent.				
Les systèmes judiciaires trouvent toujours une peine adaptée aux hommes qui rompent des conditions d'injonction.				

Les femmes victimes de violences conjugales ont confiance dans le système juridique pour qu'il trouve une peine adapt♪0e aux partenaires violents.				
C'est simple pour les femmes de faire une demande ou de se voir accord♪0e une injonction dans les cas de violence conjugale.				
En général, la police est efficace pour traiter les cas de violence conjugale.				
Obtenir une injonction pour expulser un partenaire violent peut parfois mettre une femme dans une situation de victime plus risquée de violence.				
Les femmes sont réticentes à porter plainte contre un partenaire violent surtout dans le cas où la brutalité a sévi pendant des années et de façon très sérieuse.				
En général, les agences de soutient conjugal et de médiation sont bien dotées pour avertir les femmes de leurs droits lors de leurs interventions dans le cas de violence conjugale.				
Les Collectivités Locales/ Municipalités offrent une assistance sociale adaptée et connue des personnes victimes de violences conjugales.				
La présence d'enfants est un facteur significatif pour **dissuader** les femmes de porter plainte contre un partenaire violent.				
La présence d'enfants est un facteur significatif pour **encourager** les femmes de porter plainte contre un partenaire violent.				
Les femmes victimes de violences conjugales sont capables de s'assurer un hébergement d'urgence (ex: abris, refuges, foyers) très facilement.				
Les femmes victimes de violences conjugales sont capables de s'assurer un logement décent à long terme, de façon appropriée.				
La peur de l'Exclusion dissuade les femmes de quitter un partenaire violent.				

74. Pensez-vous que la loi sensée protéger les victimes de violences conjugales a besoin d'être renforcée de façon plus stricte?

Oui	SVP, veuillez répondre à la question 75 ci-dessous
Non	SVP, veuillez poursuivre

75. Quelles organisations, pensez-vous, devraient être responsables pour renforcer la loi qui protège les victimes de violences conjugales? SVP, veuiller cocher **toutes** les propositions qui vous semblent appropriées.

	Oui	Non
Les Collectivités Locales/ les municipalités		
Le Gouvernement		
Les Oraganisations Non Gouvernementales		
Les forces de police		
Les professions juridiques		
Aucune organisation-chacun devrait résoudre personnellement ses problèmes		
Autres organisations de manifestation et les lobbies		
Autres - SVP, veuillez préciser		

76. D'une manière générale, diriez-vous que les agences locales collaborent efficacement pour subvenir aux besoins en logements et autres des femmes qui vivent la violence conjugale?

Oui	SVP, veuillez répondre à la question 77 ci-dessous
Non	SVP, veuillez poursuivre directement à la question 78

77. Que pensez-vous être nécessaire pour promouvoir une plus efficace collaboration entre les différentes agences?

Suggestions pour promouvoir une collaboration pus efficace entre les différentes agences

SEPTIEME PARTIE: EVALUATION GENERALE DES MODELES D'EXCLUSION DES FEMMES

78. En envisageant toutes les possibilités qui ont vu le jour, comment estimez-vous l'efficacité générale du système qui gère le problème de l'exclusion des femmes?

Très efficace	Pas très efficace	Pas efficace	Pas efficace du tout

79. Que pensez-vous du niveau de sensibilité des institutions ci-dessous lorsqu'elles prennent en charges des femmes **au stade critique** (littéralement, sans-abri)?

	Répondent bien aux besoins	Répondent juste aux besoins	Ne répondent pas aux besoins	Ne répondent pas du tout aux besoins
La Municipalité				
Les ONG				
Le Gouvernement				
Les professions judiciaires (délivrant les injonctions, les avis d'isolement ou d'exclusion d'une zone…)				

80. Que pensez-vous du niveau de sensibilité des institutions qui fournissent des **hébergements définitifs** pour les femmes ayant déjà expérimenté l'Exclusion?

	Répondent bien aux besoins	Répondent juste aux besoins	Ne répondent pas aux besoins	Ne répondent pas du tout aux besoins
La Municipalité				
Les ONG				
Le Gouvernement				
Les professions judiciaires (délivrant les injonctions, les avis d'isolement ou				

d'exclusion d'une zone…)				

81. Que pensez-vous du niveau de la réceptivité des organisations en **matière de prévention** de l'Exlusion des femmes?

	Répondent bien aux besoins	Répondent juste aux besoins	Ne répondent pas aux besoins	Ne répondent pas du tout aux besoins
La Municipalité				
Les ONG				
Le Gouvernement				
Les professions judiciaires (délivrant les injonctions, les avis d'isolement ou d'exclusion d'une zone…)				

82. Que pensez-vous du niveau de la réceptivité des organisations suivantes en matière de réduction de la pauvreté des femmes?

	Répondent bien aux besoins	Répondent juste aux besoins	Ne répondent pas aux besoins	Ne répondent pas du tout aux besoins
La Municipalité				
Les ONG				
Le Gouvernement				
Les professions judiciaires (délivrant les injonctions, les avis d'isolement ou d'exclusion d'une zone…)				

83. En songeant à tous ces critère réunis, quel est le principal changement institutionnel nécessaire à court terme pour subvenir de façon adaptée aux besoins en logements des femmes sans-abri?

Principaux changements institutionnels requis à court terme

84. Quel est le principal changement institutionnel nécessaire à long terme?

Principaux changements institutionnels requis à long terme

85. Y a t-il quelque chose de plus que vous désireriez ajouter?

HUITIEME PARTIE: A PROPOS DE VOUS ET DE VOTRE ORGANISATION

Quel genre d'oraganisation vous emploie? SVP, veuillez ne cocher qu'**une seule** proposition.

Département des Logements de la Municipalité	
Département de la Santé de la Municipalité	
Tout autre département de la Municipalité	
Organisation Non Gouvernementale	
Notaire/ Avocat	
Institution Professionnelle	
Autres - SVP veuillez préciser	

Depuis combien de temps y travaillez-vous? ? SVP, veuillez ne cocher qu'**une seule** proposition.

Depuis un mois et un an	
2 – 4 ans	
5 – 9 ans	
10 ans et plus	

Avez-vous toujours travaillé directement en relation avec des femmes qui subissent l'Exclusion (ex: foyer, refuge, agence de conseils…)? SVP, veuillez ne cocher qu'**une seule** proposition.

Oui	
Non	

FIN.

APPENDIX G: LEEDS RESEARCH REPONDENTS - ORGANISATION DETAILS.

Organisation Typology	Organisation name
Statutory hostel sector	The Hollies Hostel Weetwood Lane Weetwood Leeds LS16 5NZ Tel: 0113 214l 4594
Statutory hostel sector	St Michael's Lane Hostel 9 St Michael's Lane Headingley Leeds LS6 3AN Tel: 0113 214 4598
Statutory hostel sector	Richmond Court Hostel Walter Crescent Richmond Hill Leeds LS9 8BG
Statutory Organisation	Leeds City Council Housing and Environmental Health Thorseby House 2a Great Gorge Street Leeds LS2 2BB Tel: 0113 2348080
Voluntary Organisation (1) – Social Policy	Shelter (National Campaign for the Homeless) Leeds 52 Wellington Street Leeds LS1 3EE Tel: 0113 - 2442480
Voluntary Organisation (2) - RSL.	Leeds Women's Aid PO Box 89 Wellington St Leeds LS1 6UA Tel: 0113 2460 401
	Carr-Gomm Society
	Sure Start
Academics	Leeds Metropolitan University

LEEDS SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW RESPONDENTS	
Job Title	Organisation
Family Care Manager	Carr Gomm Society
Local Services Manager	Carr Gomm Society
Strategic Housing Business Manager	Leeds City Council
Strategic Housing Business Office	Leeds City Council
Hostel Manager	Women's Aid
Refuge Manager	Women's Aid
Senior Homelessness Manager	Leeds City Council

APPENDIX H: CORK RESEARCH RESPONDENTS.

Organisation	Job Title
Cork Simon Community	House Supervisor
Cork City Council	Homelessness Management Officer
Cork City Council	Outreach Worker
Cork City Council	Senior Staff Officer - Housing Allocation
Cork City Council	Not known
Cork Simon Community	Project Worker
Cork Simon Community	Shelter Team Leader
Cork Simon Community	Team Leader Day Centre
Cork Simon Community	Volunteer
Edel House (Good Shepherd Sisters)	Volunteer
Cuanlee Refuge	Student on Placement
Cuanlee Refuge	Refuge Worker
Cuanlee Refuge	NK
Cuanlee Refuge	NK
Cuanlee Refuge	NK
SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW RESPONDENTS	
Cork City Council	Homelessness Management Officer
Cork City Council	Outreach Worker
Cork Simon Community	Project Worker
Cork Simon Community	Shelter Team Leader
Cork Simon Community	Team Leader Day Centre
Cuanlee Refuge	Student on Placement
Cuanlee Refuge	Refuge Worker

APPENDIX I: LYON RESEARCH RESPONDENTS IN LYON.

Name of Organsiation	Job Title
Integration et Droit de Citrons	President
Integration et Droit de Citrons	President
Public Affaires Sociales de la Ville de Lyon	President de l'Office Public d'Amagement et de Construction du Department du Rhone.
Association Nationale D' Entraide Féminine	Not known
ALPIL	President de l'Association
Centres d'Information Feminin Sur Les Droits de la Femme	Not known
CHRS La Croiseé	Not known
CHRS La Croiseé	Etudiante
Secours Catholique	Not known
CAF	Not known
CAF	Not known
Le Foyer Notre Dammes	Not known
Me Foyer Notre Dammes	Le Directesse
Institute Departmental de l'Enfance et de la Famille	Not known
Institute Departmental de l'Enfance et de la Famille	President
SEMI- STRUCTURED INTERVIEW RESPONDENTS	
Public affaires Sociales de la Ville de Lyon	President de L'office Public d'Amagement et de Construction du Department du Rhone (OPAC)
ANEF Association Nationale	NK

D’Entraide Féminine	
ALPIL	President de l' Association
Centres d’Information Feminin (CIF) sur les Droits de la Femme	NK
CHRS La Croisée	Le Directesse
Secours Catholique	Le Directeur